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THE CHRISTIAN MESSAGE IS PEACE

Of the chaos at present in the world of Islam no one can be in any doubt. So long as the Turkish Sultan dominated that world from Constantinople, in one sense or another and in one degree or another, there was a certain feeling of political unity. The world of Islam was held together externally, although the processes of dissolution —economic, social and spiritual—had already gone far. The sheer weight of superiority of the civilization of the West was already bearing heavily on the hearts and minds of the thinking East. The pressure was not only economic, although that was severe enough, but it threatened the deepest conceptions and highest ideals of the people of Mohammed. And when the Turkish Empire as a centralizing citadel and strength in Islam came crashing down, it seemed to the patriotic Moslem, to whom Islam meant all that we understand by our country, that a complete ending had come to thirteen centuries of history. The new Turkey was frankly Turkish and not Moslem; the Central Asian Khanates were vanishing into Sovietism; the other quasi-independent Moslem States—Egypt, Arabia, Iraq, Persia —were barely and spasmodically holding their own.

In face of all this there can be small wonder that black fear has become the dominant emotion in the Moslem mind. It is fear of the West and all its forces and influences of every kind, good and bad. But Islam, like Calvinism, fosters the sterner virtues, and produces men in the emphatic sense. And so black fear has its reaction in black

determination; Islam has set its teeth, and is everywhere facing a world of supposed enemies. It has no intention of letting itself be economically exploited or politically oppressed, or even be merged into any non-Islamic form of life. It is proudly conscious of the centuries when it led the world in science, philosophy and theology, and is determined to cast back and pick up the threads of its own ancient achievements of thought and skill. And in all this it is self-consciously Moslem; even its most pantheistic mystics and freest-thinking philosophers are Islam-conscious. And so, for it, the enemy is not simply the present Western world and its worldly civilization, but the Christendom which knew itself as Christendom in our Middle Ages. Thus these attitudes and hostilities are, for the West, almost unintelligible bundles of anachronisms.

Naturally, then, the supreme enemy is the Christian Church as Islam envisages that Church, and the Christian missionary represents for Islam the militant phase of that Church. The Moslem still lives in the world of the Crusades, but the Crusaders now are not warriors but, far more insidiously and destructively, are preachers, teachers and physicians. He may respect them, if they are plainly sincere and honest as to their methods and objects, and he may like them personally as individuals, if they are truly religious and devoted. But they are as specifically the enemies of Islam as were the Crusaders of old. Yet, just as was the case with the Crusaders, his attitude will vary in proportion as the missionary respects him, understands him and knows how to meet him. The Templars, for example, were on a better footing with the Moslems of their times than any of the other Crusaders. They had been settled so long in the East that reciprocally they had come to understand one another. One Syrian Moslem, whose diary we have, tells how they gave him place and opportunity for his Moslem worship in the temple area itself. Such courtesy always meets with response. There is in this certainly one danger. The Christian who is thus courteous, friendly and thoughtful towards Moslems runs the risk

that he will be thought secretly inclined to accept Islam. The present writer knows, by personal experience, that if there is not plain antagonism there is a suspicion of inner inclination. This lay behind the accusations against the Templars which eventually destroyed them.

What, then, must the missionary do, face to face with this perfectly certain situation? First and always, he must be explicitly and exactly Christian in his attitude and confession, in every sense—theological, moral, social—of the much used and abused word "Christian." The more explicit he is that he accepts the exact Christian faith, the better the Moslem will understand him and the more he will respect him. This, the Moslem will say, is an honest and faithful enemy; no crypto-Moslem, but a theologian who knows and confesses his own faith.

But need the missionary be an enemy of Islam? There is much in Islam to which he cannot possibly be hostile and it will be for him to seek out and emphasize just those common points and begin from them, even as Paul did with the Athenians. He will avoid the points of controversy which have been the delight of theologians in the thirteen centuries of conflict over the heresies of Mohammed. He will avoid Mohammed himself, and certainly all abuse of him. The time of anathemas against heresies is past, and theologians now seek to fit them into their place in the constructive history of the Church. Islam itself recognizes that heretics have their uses. It may not be possible to canonize Mohammed, but it may be possible to treat him as the Church treats Origen or Arius or even the Abbot Joachim. The weaknesses of his private life can be passed over, as the Church most singularly has managed to pass over those of David.

Second, he will carefully avoid all that fighting vocabulary which is so beloved of some missionaries and of still more Mission Boards. Metaphors, even the most apparently innocent, derived from the operations of war must be rejected. Islam will be certain to take them literally. Hymns must be chosen and used with the greatest care.

Impassioned exhorters of missionary meetings at home need not think that their words will stay at home and only stimulate home fervor; they will travel beyond seas and help to distort the truth as it is in Christ. The world now is a whispering gallery, and what is said in secret chambers on one side of it is proclaimed upon the housetops of the other side. It is impossible to exaggerate the mischief that may be done in Egypt or Arabia or India by some unhappy phrase uttered in a village church in America. How much greater, then, must be the care exercised by the man who is actually living among Moslems!

This is a negative requirement on the missionary. His positive teaching must be full of the spirit of peace and brotherhood. Let him especially labor to express all the meaning for mankind that lies in the historic fact of the Divine Incarnation. Let him study how far Islam itself has gone in this direction, either in its explicit doctrine of the nature of Jesus—as half man, half angel, and now in his human body flying round the throne of Allah on high[1]—or in the reveries and aspirations of its multitudes of mystics. There he will find a basis on which to build up a doctrine of Christ that may transform from within the conception of the nature of Allah as crystallized by Moslem dogmatism. This means that he should avoid, so far as he possibly can, arid and useless discussions of the nature of the Trinity, and bring his inquirer face to face with the Eternal Being who took flesh and dwelt among us for a time, because God so loved the world. Let that Being become personally known as in the pages of the Gospels, and much of the dialectic difficulty will vanish. For between the intellectualized conceptions of Islam and the experiential religion of its mystics there is a gap through which the whole doctrine not only of Christ but of the Holy Spirit may enter. And with the Incarnation the missionary may bring home the whole burden of meaning in the Divine Paternity of all the human race—of the yearnings of God towards His children—and thus solve the

[1] For the Moslem conception of Jesus see article in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam.*

paradox of the Moslem mystic and show that Allah is not a God afar off.

And so he will bring out what the Song of the Angels meant, with Peace on earth from God and marvellous good will and saving love towards men, and what that basal teaching of Christ means, that Hate is swallowed up in Love; that the true Christian does not hate anything, either the sinner or the sin—his sympathies are too true and his understanding is too full; that all men are children of God and brothers one with another. In truth the doctrine of the Divine Paternity and of the brotherhood of men as the sons of God is the great revelation for Islam which the Incarnation brings.

So teaching and preaching, the missionary will find that all young Islam will receive his doctrine with joy, for young Islam is yearning to know assuredly that Love is Life and Hate is Death. Young Islam, face to face with the hostilities and warfare of the present age, is sick at heart. The young Moslem feels that the Western world has made worse, if anything, his state. It is for the true missionary to show him that the doctrine of Christ is not war but peace, and is the hope of abiding peace for the world.

Hartford, Conn. DUNCAN B. MACDONALD.

MOGUL PAINTINGS ON CHRISTIAN SUBJECTS

(See Frontispiece)

Indian paintings of the Mogul school are well known to connoisseurs, but one section of the paintings—that which deals with Christian subjects—has not hitherto received much attention. It may therefore be of some interest to refer to a special lecture on this class of paintings which was delivered on April 9th last at the Royal Asiatic Society's rooms in London by the President of the Society. The lecture, which was illustrated by over fifty lantern slides, brought to notice the following points.

The Christian pictures in question were for the most part painted during the first half of the seventeenth century, when Mogul art was at its best. It was at this very period that a Jesuit mission was maintaining a vigorous existence at the court of the Mogul Emperors, and it is to the influence of the Jesuit missionaries, supported as they were by the art-loving sovereigns, Akbar and Jahangir, that the Indian taste for Christian painting owes its origin.[1]

The missionaries introduced a certain number of large oil paintings, intended primarily for devotional purposes, and copied from well known originals in Rome. These were not copied in oils by the Mogul school of painters, but large paintings of Christian origin are known, from the accounts of the Jesuits themselves and of European travellers, to have formed part of the decoration of the walls and ceilings of Mogul public buildings at Agra, Sikandra, Lahore and elsewhere, and, although these wall-decorations have not survived, there are several contemporary sketches of palace interiors which show the existence

[1] The origin and history of the Jesuit mission is set forth in detail in a recent book by Sir Edward Maclagan entitled "The Jesuits and the Great Mogul" (Burns, Oates and Washbourne, Newgate Street, London), reviewed in this Journal in January, 1933.

on the palace walls of paintings representing the figures of Christ and of the Madonna.

Apart, however, from large pictures of this type, there are numerous instances of Christian subjects among the small paintings on paper which are usually spoken of as Mogul "miniatures." Several of these are to be found in an illustrated Persian "Life of Christ" written by one of the Jesuits and now in the Museum at Lahore: others are in the beautiful "Album of Jahangir" at Berlin, and in the "Album of Dara" and the Johnson Collection in the India Office Library in London: others again in one or another of the numerous public and private collections of Mogul miniatures scattered throughout India, Europe and America.

In many cases these Christian pictures clearly have their origin in the small prints introduced by the Jesuits from Europe. These were for the most part imported from Antwerp, and were the work of Flemish engravers such as the Sadelers, the Galles and the brothers Wierix. Original engravings of this class found a place in the collection of Jahangir himself and of other Mogul collectors; and it was a common practice for the Indian painters to prepare colored miniatures based more or less closely on those Flemish engravings. A "Holy Family" by Sadeler after Rottenhammer, a "Saint Matthew" by Galle after Heemskerck, and a "Saint Cecilia" by Wierix after Francesco Vanni were treated in this way and the resulting miniatures are still extant.

Not only so, but similar treatment was extended to engravings by the great German artist Albrecht Dürer. On the margin of one page of Jahangir's Album at Berlin there are four beautiful figures, cleverly reproduced from engravings of this master: and several other examples are extant to show the vogue which Dürer's engravings, or copies of them, had at the Mogul court, including a reproduction of his "Christ before Caiaphas," of his "Standard Bearer" and of his "Madonna with the ape."

In one miniature, a portrait of Shah Jehan with a courtier, there are representations of the Holy Ghost in the

form of a Dove, and of God the Father Himself; a use of Christian symbolism which is truly astonishing in the case of an orthodox sovereign like Shah Jehan. Pictures of the Madonna and of the Madonna and Child, are specially frequent in Mogul art, and among these there are two delightful miniatures from the Jesuit "Life of Christ," illustrating traditional incidents in the life of the Virgin. There is in the Johnson Collection a striking sketch of the adoration of the infant Saviour by winged angels, and there are in various collections numerous representations of passages in the life of Christ. Of these some of the most striking, though unfortunately among the most dilapidated, are from the Persian "Life of Christ" above mentioned. A remarkable figure by the painter Maskin, in the India Office Library, is almost certainly a representation of Christ as the Good Shepherd, and there is a curious, semi-Oriental painting in the British Museum, of the Descent from the Cross. Among other interesting examples of Christian motives are two pictures of the Magdalen: one of which is to be seen in the India Museum at South Kensington, while the other is a beautiful sketch in the possession of Mr. Coomeraswamy at Boston.

The facts above summarized will serve to indicate the character of this interesting, and hitherto unexplored, line of research. These paintings of Christian subjects are not by any means to be accepted in all cases as good specimens of Mogul art, but many of them are very attractive from the artistic point of view, and the existence of such paintings is a testimony, as powerful as that of written documents, to the intense interest aroused in Christianity at the Mogul Court in the early part of the seventeenth century.

London EDWARD D. MACLAGAN.

EARLY EFFORTS AMONG MOHAMMEDANS IN PERSIA

In 1834 the American Board of Foreign Missions sent out the Reverend and Mrs. Justin Perkins to found a mission to the Nestorians, who were living in Northwest Persia and in the mountains of Kurdistan. "The position he is expected to occupy," said *The Missionary Herald* (December, 1833) of Mr. Perkins, "is not only interesting in relation to the Nestorians, but it is in the very center of Mohammedanism," the main object of his mission being, "through the grace of God, to enable the Nestorian Church to exert a commanding influence in the spiritual regeneration of Asia." Thus the mission to the Nestorians had in view from the first the ultimate evangelization of the Mohammedans of Persia and Central Asia.

Not content, however, with this indirect approach to Moslems, the American Board sent out also in 1834 the Reverend J. L. Merrick on a "mission to Mohammedans," with instructions to spend four or five years in collecting information about the Mohammedans of Persia and Central Asia. He was told to learn Turkish and Persian well, to go to Teheran and Isfahan and all the chief cities of Northern Persia, and if he deemed it wise, to pass on from Meshed to Afghanistan or Bokhara, and return to America via India. His chief object everywhere must be "to ascertain where it is expedient for the Board to form missionary stations." "We must publish the 'truth, as it is in Jesus' directly to the Mohammedans themselves," said *The Missionary Herald.*

Mr. Merrick came to Persia with high hopes of the possibility of working directly for Moslems, but he soon met with disappointment. In Tabriz he found several

German missionaries of the Basel Society who had worked for a number of years in the Caucasus and in Persia, and they told him how Pfander (the author of the well-known book *Mizanu'l-Haqq*) had been mobbed in Kermanshah a few years before as he was distributing Persian Scriptures, and had barely escaped on a horse with his life. They also told him that the Scriptures distributed by Mr. Wolff, the traveler at Urumia, had been burned. "I have with me a considerable number of Persian Testaments (Martyn's translation), psalms and proverbs, purchased by funds granted me for that purpose by the Young Men's Bible Society of Savannah, Georgia. The German missionaries think it would not be prudent or beneficial to distribute a portion of these Scriptures at Tabriz." "What is to be done under such circumstances?" he asks. "To work boldly and openly might not only cost one his life, but bar the door to others."

In 1836 Merrick went to Teheran, there to meet further discouragement. Some of the Christian English officers whom he met told him that in their opinion "in the existing order of things, evangelical benevolence can do little for Persia." In Isfahan he tried giving away Scriptures. As confusion was caused by this method, he decided only to sell them—but no one wanted to buy! His presence caused a great turmoil in the city, and there was a plot to kill him. "I feel that our situation is full of serious concern," he writes, "yet I sometimes cannot suppress a pleasant smile in view of this great alarm which has fallen upon this seat of Satan in consequence of the arrival here of three poor missionaries (two Germans were with him), with some sacred books."

Next he visited Shiraz, where he remained seven months, and became well acquainted with Mirza Seyyid Ali, who had assisted Martyn in his translation in 1811. "There is much more toleration, or rather civilization, at Shiraz now than existed in that city ten or fifteen years ago," he writes; "but I am fully persuaded that a public renunciation of Mohammedanism would, at this day, insure most certain and

summary death." He proposed to the Prince in Shiraz that he might start a school to teach European science and literature. The Prince referred the question to the Mollahs, who decided that such a school would endanger faith in Islam, and hence should not be opened. Not thinking it wise to proceed further eastward, Merrick returned to Isfahan, where he was this time not molested, and from thence he went to Hamadan, an unwalled, smoky-looking old town, and then back to Tabriz. After completing his journey, he writes thus to the Board in Boston: "I struggled hard and long to retain the hope that I might, in some sense, preach the Gospel in Persia so soon as qualified for the work; but I am at length convinced that public preaching to the Persians is, at present, not only inexpedient but impracticable. And even if we could employ this direct means of propagating the Gospel among the Mussulmans, we should be cautioned against indulging too high expectations of success, till the Spirit be poured upon them from on high." He adds that the German missionaries have preached fifteen years in Georgia, and thirty beyond the Caucasus, and have not yet won one hopeful convert. "Tabriz," he says, "is undoubtedly the most promising field in Persia for a missionary to make efforts for promoting education."

It is not surprising that this gloomy report discouraged the American Board from enlarging its "Mission to the Mohammedans" in Persia. Had the author been in a more hopeful mood when he wrote it, the future of Missions in Persia might have been different. And there were those who took a more optimistic view of the situation, bad as it was. Mr. Perkins, in writing of the withdrawal of the German missionaries in 1837 by the Basel Society, on the ground that they were unable to present the Gospel directly to Mohammedans, expresses deep regret at this decision. He says that one of them, Mr. Haas, had a flourishing school for Moslem boys, and that the Shah, on seeing a small geography he had published in Persia, had invited him to come to Teheran and open a school there. "Numerous

most cheering facts," continues Perkins, "are now constantly developing themselves, which show clearly to the eye of faith that the set time to favor Zion among the Mohammedans of Persia is come." Dr. Asahel Grant, the devoted physician of the Mission to the Nestorians, was also deeply interested in the Mohammedans, whom he treated in large numbers in his dispensary. He writes (1838) from Tabriz: "Though Satan may struggle long and hard to retain his supremacy here, I am more than ever satisfied that an important work may be done, by general intercourse with the people, the preparation of books and tracts, of a nature to prepare the dark mind of the Mussulmans for the more direct reception of the Gospel . . . "

Mr. Merrick remained for several years in Tabriz engaged in this sort of work, giving talks on astronomy and electricity, sometimes having a small school, assisting William Glen in his translation of the Old Testament into Persian, himself translating *Hayatu'l-Qulub* into English, and preparing "a Persian tract in proof of the Christian religion, embodying some of its doctrines, but in no instance going beyond this sphere, to attack Mohammedanism." He also composed a small treatise on astronomy, a copy of which was made by the Governor to be presented to the Shah.

In *The Missionary Herald* for January, 1842, the following decision is noted: "In view of the increasing claims of other fields occupied by the Board, and the unpromising nature of the one now under consideration . . . the Committee have decided not to continue a distinct mission to the Persian Mohammedans." Mr. Merrick "is authorized to join the Nestorian Mission at Urumia." Thus the effort on the part of the American Board to reach Moslems through a direct Mission came to an untimely end. For the next quarter of a century there were no missionaries in Persia who made it their chief aim to influence the Mohammedans, who constituted perhaps ninety-seven per cent of the population of the country. The members of the

"Mission to the Nestorians" were for the most part too fully occupied with their distinctive work in the Syriac language to attempt to do much for their Moslem neighbors.

But indirectly they were all the while making a profound impression upon many of the Moslems, both small and great, with whom they came into contact. It was impossible that devoted and zealous missionaries like Perkins, Grant, Fidelia Fiske, Stoddard and Wright should live and work and pray for years in Urumia, and that a score of remarkable revivals should take place among the Nestorians, and hundreds be truly converted, without the Mohammedans being affected; and again and again during the first thirty-five years of the Mission we find references in the letters and reports of the missionaries to individual Moslems who showed great interest in the Gospel. The first instance I was able to discover of a Mohammedan who definitely asked for baptism in Persia was in 1856. A young man came professing his faith and saying that he was ready to confess Christ openly, even at the risk of his life. The missionaries did not feel justified in baptizing him in Persia, and thus putting him in peril, as well as endangering the Mission to the Nestorians, and so he was sent to Constantinople where I believe he received baptism.

Then in 1860 it is stated that the Mohammedan language teacher in the Mission Seminary and another Mohammedan have shown deep interest in Christianity, and profess to receive it. The same year Mr. Coan writes: "It is a new and not uninteresting fact that in several of our village schools (for Nestorians) a few children of Mussulmans attend, committing the Bible to memory with the others. This, in connection with the fact that there are many who are secretly or more openly reading the New Testament, and discussing the claims of the Gospel in the market and in the house of one of the chief Mollahs (reputedly the most 'holy man' in the city), and the demand for the Persian Scriptures, shows that God is moving upon the Mussulman mind in Persia in an unwonted manner. There are some who actually embrace the truth,

and one is a regular attendant upon our Friday afternoon service . . . He professes to us to have renounced Mohammedanism. His mind is yet dark, but may God enlighten his ignorance. Our faith is firm, that at no distant day you will be called to furnish laborers for a great harvest from the Mussulman portion of our field."

A few months later Mr. Shedd writes of the increase of interest among Moslems in every part of the Urumia plain. He tells of a Kurdish Mollah who had attended the services in Degala, later obtained a New Testament, and after studying it carefully was convinced of its truth. "A few days since, he came to Dr. Wright and begged to be baptized. His views are very clear and evangelical, and there is no evidence that he is not sincere."

In 1861 Mr. Breath, the printer of the Mission writes: "There are increasingly encouraging indications among the Mohammedans; but do not let us mislead you. We know of only three or four persons from among that class whom we regard as converted . . . yet there is not the dead calm which has slept upon these waters for long previous years." Converted Nestorians, he says, are constantly speaking of the readiness of Moslems to talk about religious questions. He mentions a high Mollah in Khoi, to whom an Arabic Bible had been presented, who was said to have regular meetings at which the Christian Scriptures were read and explained. "Our hope is that the Lord, in these small beginnings, has great results in mind." The following year Mr. Labaree tells of a Moslem who they believed had died in the Christian faith. He was a patient of Dr. Wright's, and used often during his long illness to converse freely about religion with his kindly physician. Before his death he told the doctor's assistant that he trusted Christ above for his salvation. The missionaries had prayed much for him, and hope that he may be the first fruits "of a rich harvest of regenerated Mussulmans, which the Lord will reap ere long . . . . out of this bigoted and corrupt nation."

In 1862 Mr. Rhea reports that a service in the Turkish language has recently been opened in the Armenian quarter

of Urumia, in the hope that not only Nestorians and Armenians, but Moslems also may come in. Up to this time it seems that all the regular preaching had been in Syriac. "Our Mission is more and more deeply impressed," he continues, "with the conviction that we are sent to *all* the races of this Empire. We feel called upon to lengthen our cords in every direction."

Two years later Mr. Rhea again writes: "I am satisfied that every day a deeper impression is being made on Mohammedans in favor of a pure Christianity. Now and then we have a case of a Mussulman, apparently deeply interested, applying for baptism; not from those immediately about us (in Urumia), but from the villages, where they hear the Gospel from the lips of our native (Nestorian) preachers. There is a Mollah in town . . . . who applied recently to be taken under instruction, saying: 'The dogs eat the crumbs which fall from the Master's table!' A strange utterance from the lips of a Mollah."

In 1869 Mr. Coan writes: "a Mussulman came to see me the other day, expressing his firm belief in Jesus the Son of God, and a strong desire to confess Christ before men, saying he was ready to die for Christ, if it might but be the means of opening the way for the free and full proclamation of the Gospel to his countrymen. He is a man of integrity. Other Mussulmans are inquiring."

In 1871, just at the time when the work in Persia was transferred from the American Board to the Presbyterian Board, and shortly after the Mission had changed its name from the "Mission to the Nestorians" to the "Mission to Persia," the interest among Moslems greatly increased and the missionaries began to be more aggressive in their efforts to reach them. The ladies of the Mission learned Turkish, that they might call upon the Moslem ladies of Urumia and "from the palace of the most wealthy lord to the home of the commonest person, our ladies have been received with the most marked cordiality and attention." A great new door was thus opened for missionary effort. One of the Nestorian helpers was set apart for work among Moslems,

and he reported that at least fifty workers tell him he is their pastor, and come to him for instruction.

Mr. Cochran writes as follows of this new development: "In several of the villages numbers of Mussulman women have come to church Sabbath after Sabbath, evincing a very deep interest in the preaching of the Gospel. The daughter of the highest Mussulman dignitary of the city (Urumia) has, with others, attended service repeatedly, and listened with the closest attention, and often with tears." "The most marked interest is in the book-store in one of the caravanserais of the city. It is in charge of Pastor Yonan of the city congregation. The attendance regularly of nearly fifty Mussulmans, and the full and open discussion of the mysteries of the Gospel, have made a deep impression. On Christmas, for example, a crowd filled the room from morning till night, listening with unabated interest to the story of our Savior's birth and life . . . our work attracts attention, and no opposition as yet." The opposition was to come in abundance a little later!

Mr. Coan also says that the native helper who works among Moslems in Urumia is kindly treated, and often taken to the homes of people at night, that the women of the family may be able to hear his preaching, and they keep him talking till midnight. He then tells of a Mollah who had some years ago renounced Islam and become a Christian, and had gone to Russia for safety, "for in Persia the death penalty still hangs over the head of him who abjures his faith in Mohammed." This man recently died in Russia, and his widow returned to Urumia. When she came to see the missionaries, she said she loved Christ, and asked for baptism. Mr. Coan continues, "We wonder that so many are found among Mussulmans, apparently such sincere inquirers; and that hitherto we have not been hindered in the precious work of preaching Christ and Him crucified to them. It seems to us as though we were on the eve of great events in Persia."

Though a number of Moslems had asked for baptism previous to 1872, in no case had the missionaries seen fit

to accede to their requests. They were no doubt deterred in some instances by the spiritual unfitness of the candidates; but the chief reason for not receiving Moslems seems to have been fear of what would be the consequences, both to the convert and to the Mission. It was believed that an open profession of faith would result in almost certain death for the convert. And the Mission, which had been tolerated by the Persian authorities because it was concerned only with the Nestorians, would most certainly get into serious difficulty if it began to make Christians of the Mohammedans. Hence the missionaries had hesitated.

But on May 9, 1872, the question was squarely faced and decided at the meeting of the Mission in Urumia, the same meeting which voted that Mr. Bassett should open a station in Teheran. The following somewhat clumsily worded but courageous resolution was adopted: "Resolved, that neither we nor the Christian Churches of Persia should shrink from the practical illustration of our preaching, but should receive to the membership of the Churches any and all who give evidence of repentance towards God, and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. If that course be thought to incur persecution, it is persecution by which the church cannot, consistently with her profession, be terrified."

Shortly after this Mr. Bassett started for Teheran, and while stopping in Tabriz had the opportunity to put this policy of the Mission into effect. He writes from that city (June 7, 1872): "I have been so interrupted by calls of Mohammedans, that it is now only one and a half hour till I start for Teheran. I have just now baptized a converted Mussulman Priest, or Mollah. He is the leading Mollah at Tabriz, a very remarkable man, and one who exhibits in a remarkable degree the marvelous power of divine grace. His conversion is not to be attributed to any one man. He has read the Persian Bible alone . . . His mind is as clear as the Persian sky, remarkably gentle and quiet." Mr. Bassett adds that if his baptism were

known in the Bazaar, "he would probably be killed before night." This was the first Moslem to be baptized in Persia by a member of the American Mission, and the first to be baptized in Persia by any missionary, so far as I have been able to discover. His name was Mulla Abu'l-Hasan. Whether or not he was as remarkable a man as Mr. Bassett supposed, he should be remembered for his courage, and for the sufferings which he later endured for Christ's sake.

The following year Mr. Coan, on a tour to Tabriz, writes: "It will not do to publish the facts, but we have been permitted to welcome to Christ's table two who were once prominent Mussulmans, and to baptize the four children of one of them (Abu'l-Hasan)." Mr. Labaree speaks of this communion service as "a thrilling earnest of the precious ingathering that draws near."

So long as Moslems listened unmoved to the preaching of the Gospel, the authorities put no obstacle in the way of those who wished to attend the services. But when it became known that the Christian preaching was making converts, persecution at once began. In February, 1874, a raid was made on the Sunday morning service in Tabriz, and Mulla Abu'l-Hasan and others were taken off and severely beaten and thrown into prison. They were later released through the interference of the British Consul. This attack, however, only temporarily stopped the stream of Moslem callers at the home of the missionary.

In this same year (1874) the first Moslem convert was baptized in the Urumia field by Priest Moses, a Nestorian pastor. Later the wife of this man was also baptized. Writing in 1876 of this family, Mr. Labaree says: "I had a letter from one of the native brethren, speaking of the joy and comfort taken in one of the Mussulman converts, who with his wife has been received to the Lord's Table in one of our large Nestorian Churches. This woman is the first Mussulman female convert in Persia, I believe, and the fact is one for much rejoicing and gratitude. She is the earnest of a large ingathering of Mussulman women, and her case should stimulate our faith and incite our

prayers for the benighted women of Persia. The Mussulmans of Persia hold ideas of Christian uncleanness akin to the caste principle in India, so it was a most striking mark of Christian faith and love, when a Mohammedan and his wife sat down in a Christian Church and ate from the same dish, bread prepared by Christian hands, and drank from the same cup with those they once regarded as unclean."

In 1875 the missionaries in Urumia decided to grant baptism to a Mollah who had been earnestly requesting it for more than a year. He had read the Bible much, and had been given careful instruction in Christian doctrine. He had also proved the sincerity of his faith by suffering the loss of his property and friends, and receiving persecution and revilings. After his baptism he began to go about the villages, earning his own bread, and preaching the Gospel with boldness. I believe this was the first Moslem convert in the city of Urumia.

On March 26, 1876, the first evangelical Church was organized by Mr. Bassett in Teheran. The charter members consisted of eleven men and one woman, one of the men being a Mohammedan, and the others Armenians. "May this beginning be the first fruits of a glorious harvest!" says Mr. Potter in reporting the event. The Mohammedan was baptized, I believe, on the same day that the Church was organized. A few months later Mr. Bassett writes of him: "The Mussulman who became a Christian, and united with our Church, seems to give good evidence of sincerity. He is now in the country acting as a volunteer Bible distributor. As a result of his efforts, the Scriptures have been put in several schools, caravanserais and shops."

In the years that followed these beginnings a number of baptisms of Moslems are reported, particularly in Tabriz. In 1879 a young man who was very prominent among the Ali Ilahis, a sect which is said to worship Ali as God, was baptized in Tabriz. Mr. Easton "took him on a tour among his own people, when he openly confessed Christ before them and prayed to Him in their presence." In 1880, Mrs.

Van Hook of Tabriz reports that at the last communion "five Mussulman converts were baptized, making it an eventful day." This progress was in spite of almost constant opposition on the part of the authorities, who from time to time made raids on the Christian services, and on one occasion arrested, beat, and fined eighteen Mohammedans who were in the audience on a Sunday morning.

In 1883, Miss Carey writes that in Urumia they now have their first family of Moslem converts. The wife and child of their Persian teacher, Mirza Seyyid Agha, had been recently baptized. They and other converts are being persecuted by their enemies. The following year Mr. Labaree of Urumia writes: "On April 13 the Mohammedan gatekeeper at the college, with his wife, made a profession of their faith in Christ. Their young son was baptized with them . . . This is the third wife and mother who has joined this little fold with her husband. The whole number is now eleven."

In 1885 the Jubilee of the Persian Mission was celebrated, and the missionaries prepared a number of papers in which they surveyed the work of the past fifty years. Mr. Wilson of Tabriz, in his paper on the work for Mohammedans, states that up to that time about fifty Moslems had been baptized in Persia, twenty-eight of whom had been received in Tabriz. In describing the character of these converts he says: "They are very frail and weak. Candor compels us to admit that their display of a mercenary spirit, and their compromising their profession through fear of men, have sorely tried our faith in their sincerity. Many of them were baptized a short time after the famine (1872-1873), and it seems that while their hearts were touched by the exhibition of Christian charity, yet a desire to continue to eat the Christian's bread was aroused, which led some to hypocrisy." Of the twenty-eight received in Tabriz, sixteen had been later excommunicated, and four had died. "The persecution of last year was a severe testing time," he says, and he expresses the conviction that a longer probation is necessary before baptism.

Dr. Holmes of Tabriz writes of this situation as follows: "We have all become satisfied of this, that our work among the Mussulmans requires to be thoroughly reconstructed. We have built upon a foundation of sand, so far as they are concerned, and there are but very few, if there be any, who have been received into the church from this class who will stand the test. Many of them have shamefully denied Christ long ere this, and most of the others have brought reproach on His name by their wicked deeds. I do not hesitate to say that the harvest time has not come for this people, and that while diligently sowing the seed and preparing the ground we must be content to wait till the Lord's time is come before we look for the time of reaping."

Up to this time all the converts from Islam seem to have been baptized in secret, with only a few of the missionaries or native Christians present. It was generally supposed that public profession of faith would mean certain death for the convert, and it was natural that every precaution should have been taken to prevent unnecessary persecution. But after following this method for a dozen years the Mission realized that a mistake had been made in receiving converts secretly.

Entrance into the Church had been made too easy, and people whose principal concern was to get material aid had too often been allowed to slip in. In 1885 the West Persia Mission at its annual meeting considered the situation, and approved the following recommendation which the evangelistic committee brought in. "In view of the evils resulting from secret baptism of the converts from Islam by the missionaries, we recommend that wherever the missionaries baptize converts hereafter, it shall be done openly."

The first public baptism after this action, of which I was able to find a record, was administered in Tabriz. Mr. Wilson, writing in January, 1887, says: "One of the new members (of the Church) is a Mohammedan convert, who, after a prolonged probation, was publicly baptized on a

full confession of his faith. Former baptisms of Mohammedans were private, that is, before the Church members only; but we feel that an open baptism will be a much surer test of sincerity and more truly a profession 'before men.' Several strange Mohammedans were present, but nothing unusual has occurred."

While many of the first converts thus proved disappointments, they were not all so. Mr. Labaree of Urumia, in writing about those in his field in 1887, says: "While it has been thought best that too much publicity should not be given to their change of faith, so inflammable is the Persian populace, yet these converts are marked men in the community. Their names are bandied about as renegades. They have had to endure much bitter treatment from their nearest friends. Some have been beaten and in sharp peril of their lives. They have gone in and out in momentary fear of the assassin's dagger. Yet they hold on, 'rejoicing that they are counted worthy to suffer shame for His name.' And they are quietly winning others also to 'this way.' "

There were not many, however, who were willing to receive baptism publicly, and in one instance at least an open profession of faith cost the convert his life. In 1890 a very earnest believer named Mirza Ibrahim was baptized in a meeting of Armenians in Khoi in northwest Persia. The missionary who received him says that the people are talking about him and say he should be punished. "I suspect," he adds, "that he will have to endure a great deal of hard usage. But we hope that he will be faithful and true." For a time he was not molested. Then there was an outburst of fanaticism, his wife and property were taken from him, and he had to flee to Urumia. There he was arrested and taken before the Moslem Governor of the Christians. When he boldly confessed his faith in Christ, he was set upon by the crowd and cruelly beaten and kicked by them and by the officials. When taken before the Governor of the city he again confessed Christ without fear. He was thrown into prison, with his feet made

fast in the stocks. But his face shone as the face of an angel, and he said to his enemies, "You may shoot me from the mouth of a cannon, but you cannot take away my faith in Christ." He besought his fellow prisoners to accept Christ and be saved.

Later he was taken to Tabriz, and there confined in the worst prison in the city, with a chain about his neck, by which he was fastened to a gang of murderers. To them also he preached Christ. It was hoped the civil authorities would be fair and finally release him, but he lingered on in prison for months, and at last died a martyr's death at the cruel hands of the prisoners whom he was trying to save. They endeavored to force him to deny Christ by choking him, and he was so terribly injured by them that he died on May 14, 1893, confessing Christ and forgiving his murderers to the end. The Moslems would not bury him, because he was an apostate, and so the Christian brethren laid his body in the grave.

Says Mr. Whipple, at that time the representative of the American Bible Society in Persia, regarding Mirza Ibrahim: "His life and death had produced a powerful impression for good on foes as well as friends and brethren. Our faith in the power of Christ to save even to the uttermost and to transform the most rigid Moslem into the patient, gentle, meek, and faithful Christian is greatly strengthened. He will be counted hereafter, by all in Persia, among the noble and true martyrs for Christ. We all feel that it is a dark blot on Persia that such a thing could be permitted, but it will prepare the way, we hope and pray, for real religious liberty throughout this land." That hope has not yet been fully realized. But as we draw near the end of a century of evangelization in Persia, and look back on the beginnings of the work, we can thank God for the greatly enlarged liberty which we now enjoy, and for the Churches composed largely of Moslem converts, and we can take courage for the future.

Teheran, Persia WILLIAM MCELWEE MILLER.

THE TEMPTATIONS OF MOSLEM CONVERTS

Probably the temptations that confront converts to Christianity, from whatever faith they may come, are very similar. Human nature is the same the world over, and the environment of one mission land must bear close resemblances to that of another. There are doubtless some differences, however, that tend to accentuate special difficulties and make some temptations more real to a Christian in Persia than in Japan or Brazil.

The temptations that face converts from Islam are legion. I sometimes wonder that they are able to meet them all and come through on top. As I have thought them over from my own limited experience, it seems to me that the more serious ones may be roughly grouped under three heads: temptations to denial of their faith, temptations that involve considerations of temporal gain, and temptations that are connected with the marriage relationship.

1. Denial of Faith. From the night when Peter thrice denied his Lord to the present day there have always been many who, under pressure or in time of danger, have denied their faith. Christ expected it. He knew there would be those who would start to build their towers without first counting the cost. He knew the seed would spring up quickly on many a stony soil, only to wither away later under the scorching rays of the sun. But perhaps this temptation is more common in Moslem countries, where apostasy from Islam is a crime of the first magnitude in the eyes of its faithful adherents. Moreover in Persia, where Shiah Islam prevails and where Bahaism grew up, religious dissimulation is in the atmosphere. The Moslem considers it not only no sin to

deny his faith, if circumstances are sufficiently adverse, but a matter of ordinary prudence. The Bahai goes still further and apparently regards it a sagacious thing to deny his faith on all sorts of occasions, even if only in argument for the sake of making it more difficult for the other party to deal with him. I recall an occasion, when on a tour several Bahai government officials came to call on me. As they had come for religious conversation, I thought to save useless discussion by going straight to the point and so asked them what their religious belief was. Their spokesman replied that they accepted the Jewish faith! I indicated surprise that Moslems would turn Jew, but they would not budge from this position all the two or three hours of our conversation, forcing us to talk to them as if they were Jews, when we knew they were Bahais. When at last they rose to go, as I was shaking hands, I said to them: "Now that you are leaving, would you mind telling me honestly what your religion is?" The reply was: "Do you wish to know what our religion really is? Well, we are Christians!" There is no thought of there being anything wrong in such dissimulation: it is considered merely a piece of cleverness. Brought up in such an atmosphere, it is more difficult for the Christian convert to realize the heinousness of denying his faith.

Sometimes the temptation arises through a summons to the convert to appear before the authorities. This occasionally happens, especially if someone is concerned to make trouble. It may be before government officials or ecclesiastics that the convert is summoned: both have occurred, though it seems probable that in the future, with the growth of religious liberty, there will be fewer occasions of this nature than in the past. When they do arise, however, the temptation is terrific. The new convert faces men high in authority with whom he has had no dealings before: he knows that they wield great power and they do not hesitate to impress this fact upon him. It is not to be wondered at if they conceal their faith,

though personally I fear this form of temptation less than its more subtle forms, for the convert realizes that he is facing a crisis, and if he is of the right caliber, he will rise to the emergency; furthermore, he has probably newly confessed his faith and the first flush of its enthusiasm is upon him to strengthen his courage.

Far more subtle is the temptation to denial that comes through the pressure of family or friends. This pressure is not as a rule one peremptory ejection from the home or the circle of friendship, but a quiet, though firm, disapproval expressed in different ways, day after day, like the dropping of water on the rock. And therein lies the danger of ultimate compromise, if not surrender, of the new faith. I think of a young man whose father said to him when he became a Christian: "I'd rather see you an opium addict or leading an immoral life than have you a Christian." What a thing for a father to say! Yet it shows the disgrace he felt his son had brought upon the family. And think how the son must have felt to realize that he was subjecting his father whom he sincerely loved to such a sense of disgrace. What questions would arise in his mind: "Is it right for me by confession of Christianity to bring my father to such a pass? Is it not sheer ingratitude after all he has done for me? Would it not be better to keep my Christianity secret?" I think of another young convert from a strict Moslem family. When his father learned of his apostasy, he treated him with absolute aloofness, and would not even speak to him. His mother reproached him with tears. Think how hard the temptation he was in. He loved his parents as we love ours. The sight of their sufferings was painful to him. Had he the right to make them suffer so? How could he ever hope to lead them to his new faith, if he started out by thus offending them? He wisely left his home to live by himself awhile, till his mother begged him to return: thus did he conquer the temptation. But the pull is strong, as strong as the bonds of family affection or a congenial friendship.

2. Considerations of Gain. The second great temptation to the Moslem convert—in fact a great temptation to any Christian anywhere—is the opportunity of temporal gain. It may be in the form of money or a bribe; it may be higher wages or a share in an inheritance; it may be a job or success in business; it may be position or preferment. When a man becomes a Christian, he is faced with the adoption of a new standard—the teachings and example of Christ, a standard very different from that of his environment. To try to put that standard into practice, say in a government job, at once creates antagonism among one's colleagues, for thereby their lower standards are exposed and condemned. If he refuses bribes while they accept them, or is strictly honest while they pad or falsify accounts, naturally they will resent it. No one likes to live in an atmosphere of constant opposition and antagonism. Especially would a real Christian covet friendship. How great then is the temptation to compromise his standards and lower them to the prevailing level.

Or again a shopkeeper sees that he is likely to lose customers if people know he is a Christian. His goods may be considered unclean; people would prefer to patronize one of their own faith; he may even be subject to boycott. How easy then, even if he does not deny his faith, to keep quiet about it. If he closes his shop regularly on Sundays, even if only long enough to attend church services, it will soon be suspected that he is a Christian or has leanings toward Christianity, and forthwith he may begin to lose trade. Or again, if a man is serving in the army or teaching in a government school, naturally he is anxious for promotion: he realizes that a Moslem is more likely to be promoted than an apostate to another faith. Hence he is face to face with the temptation to give out that he is a Moslem by attending services at the mosques, by contributing to Moslem charities, or by observing Moslem rites and customs; or if he can safely neglect these, at least he is keenly sensitive to the advisability of

avoiding any attempt to influence his associates toward Christianity.

Perhaps one or two examples will show how this temptation works in actual life. A young man employed in the finance department of the government became a Christian. He wanted to be honest and keep his accounts straight. As a result his records showed that his chief, the local head of the department, had been cheating the government. This of course brought down on him his chief's resentment and desire for revenge. The convert was in charge of the government wheat stores in that district, and when he knew that weevils had gotten into some of the granaries, he applied to his chief for permission to sell. Knowing that his subordinate and not he himself would be held responsible for any shortage in the wheat, the head of the department refused permission. From this and other experiences the convert soon came to the conclusion that the only reasonable way to lead an honest life was to quit government employ, and this he resolved to do. But he found getting out even harder than staying in. Either course meant heavy loss, the price of honesty. Heavy pressure was brought upon him to accept losses that were not his and to become an accomplice in graft—pressure too hard to resist. And so he succumbed, and found himself faced with heavy charges, some of which were unfortunately true, and from whose consequences he was able to escape only by leaving the country. Can one maintain a Christian standard of honesty in such a position as he held? I suppose he can, but only at a terrific cost.

In search of something more satisfying, a man of my acquaintance left Islam and became a Bahai. With heart still unsatisfied he turned to Christianity. Not only did he become a sincere Christian, but an active one, always seeking to win his friends, talking to strangers, joining gladly in tours to other places. By trade a bookbinder, he had served for several years as janitor in different schools, but he had tired of this and wished to re-

sume his trade. With some outside help he opened a shop, to find that he was separated by only a thin partition from an ardent Moslem. At once questions arose in his mind. Should he close his shop on Sundays and so advertise himself as a Christian? Should he talk of Christianity to his customers and perhaps lose trade thereby? It was a difficult problem, but he decided to carry his Christianity through. Soon his Moslem neighbor was driving customers away, telling them not to patronize an apostate. He was unable to make a living out of his shop and had to return to his job as janitor. After some years he again tired of it, finding the increasing work too heavy. He wished to take up his trade again and so moved to a nearby city where he had lived before. The center of his craft was near a large mosque, and if he wished to make a good start, that was the place. Soon his trade was flourishing, but because no one knew that he was a Christian. He is still there, but his heart is not at rest. His evangelistic spirit still burns, but it is all pent up in his breast. What shall he do? Shall he repeat his former experience? Shall he move to another locality where he will have more freedom but less trade and perhaps be unable to support his growing family? Or shall he stay where he is and hide his light under a bushel? I do not know what he will decide to do. I wonder what I would do in his place.

3. Marriage Relations. A third series of temptations has to do in some way with the marriage relationship. Perhaps a Moslem husband becomes a Christian, while his wife retains her old religion. By constant threats to report to the ecclesiastical authorities, she can keep her husband on tenterhooks and gain a sort of stranglehold on him. Or if perchance it is the wife who becomes the Christian, her husband may divorce her or forbid her attending Christian services or having any associations with Christians. I know a case where a Moslem husband has told his wife, that whereas he will not forbid her attendance at Christian worship, yet her

doing so will endanger his position. What shall she do? Shall she stand in the way of her husband's ambition? Or shall she forfeit one of the best means of spiritual growth?

Other problems arise when a convert wishes to marry. Let us assume that the convert is a young man. If he decides not to marry at all, he at once exposes himself to one set of temptations. If he decides to marry, whom shall he choose for a wife? Naturally he wishes a wife of his own state and education. But perhaps there is no Moslem convert of that type available in the limited Christian group of his community. Shall he marry outside his race in order to get a Christian wife and uphold New Testament teaching? Naturally his family would object, if there were no other reason against the proposal. His family will probably urge upon him some Moslem girl, and except from the viewpoint of religion, she may be well suited to him. Yet with such a wife, unless she prove amenable to Christian teaching, it will be hard for him to lead a thorough Christian life and bring up his children in the Christian faith. On the other hand, if the case is reversed and the convert is a woman, the difficulties are even greater. One who has not faced this problem in his own experience can scarcely comprehend all the difficulties that arise.

An entirely different set of temptations arises from the difference between the Moslem and Christian standards of marriage. Take a young man, raised in an environment that permits polygamy, concubinage, and easy divorce, and in Persia temporary marriage in addition, and then let him turn suddenly to the Christian faith. The passions which have been encouraged and perhaps indulged in the former life are not to be subdued in a moment, and many are the young converts that have fallen into temptation and into sin as well, right at this point. What could be legally indulged in before, with the easy adherence to statutory regulations, must now be controlled and Christianized: and neither self-control nor

Christian living is acquired in a day, nor does a change of faith alter the environment in which a man has to live. What wonder that so many fall under the pressure of these temptations? I could narrate story after story from my own experience to illustrate, but as they are all stories of succumbing to temptation, I can think of none that I would care to have repeated of me, were I the one who had yielded. They are stories of young men who came out of an environment where lust was fostered, who found in Christ that which appealed to them and satisfied them and strengthened them, who accepted Him—some at considerable cost—and entered upon His service. And then, when the first flush of the new life had worn off, came renewed contacts with old friends, the dogging of their footsteps by acquaintances of the pre-Christian days, bent on their downfall, or sojourn in some distant city where the restraints were less and Christian fellowship not found—with at last a yielding to the old temptation, sometimes followed by a bitter repentance and sometimes by no repentance at all. Sad stories they are, all of them. More cases of discipline have come before the church with which I am connected along this line, so far as Moslem converts are concerned, than from any other source. The pressure is terrific.

How greatly these converts from Islam need our prayers and, when they fall into temptation, our sympathy! I often wonder what my plane of Christian living would be, if I had come from the environment from which they have come, and had to continue in that environment, daily facing the temptations with which they are confronted. When we recall Christ's testimony in His prayer—"I kept them, and I guarded them, and not one of them perished"—it places on us who seek to follow in His steps a tremendous responsibility to guard these new Christians against temptation in so far as we are able, and, when they fall, to follow them up with persistent hope and unfailing sympathy.

A Missionary in Persia.

CHINESE-MOSLEM LITERATURE

A STUDY IN MOHAMMEDAN EDUCATION

The last great dynasty of China was that of the Great Clear Dynasty, better known to the West as the Manchu dynasty, and the first illustrious emperor was the inimitable K'ang Hsi. Yet the fame of K'ang Hsi rested not on his statescraft alone, but also because he became a patron of the pursuits of the learned, and evinced what was at that day and age a rare passion for literature. This was expressed by the Imperial edict that all of the vast and cosmopolitan literature of China be properly indexed and catalogued, and that specimens of each piece of literature in whatsoever language be collected and carefully deposited in the Imperial collection. Little is known today concerning this mass of books collected at the time, yet sufficient evidence justifies a reminder of the undertaking of the first great monarch of the Manchus.[1]

1. THE MOSLEM RENAISSANCE AND LIU CHIAI-LIEN:

It is fitting and proper to introduce the subject of Chinese Mohammedan literature by reference to this great patron saint of Chinese learning, for among the various works collected by K'ang Hsi were to be found certain works in Arabic and Persian, and it has been ascertained that certain of these writings were translated into Chinese during that period.[2] The political corruption and disintegration of Ming power, together with the stagnation in life and letters which seems to have been concomitant with that political decay, contrasts strongly with the "revival" under the Manchus, and, with the ascendancy of the latter to supreme power in the state, must also be counted the beginning of a true

[1] c. A.D. 1686. cf. Pott: p. 104 *et seq.*
[2] Broomhall: "Islam in China." p. 301.

literary renaissance in China, which was to affect not Chinese alone but a significant and growing Mohammedan element, especially in western China. For a proper interpretation of the important effects of this movement on Mohammedan religious education in China, and for a proper background to a historical survey of Islamic life and letters, one may begin at this point and call the introductory period the Moslem "renaissance." This renaissance was the first of three great cultural movements, the other two being the period of Moslem apologetic and the Modern period, and it will be the aim of this paper to trace out these three movements, to show the trend of the times, the nature of the literature, and the bearing of this upon the problem under review. Such study will do much toward answering the real question of the centuries concerning Islam in China, viz., How is Islam attempting to naturalize herself on a foreign soil and amidst the Chinese social milieu?

Recent research seems to substantiate the fact that probably the oldest piece of Chinese-Moslem literature extant of which there is any reasonable certainty of the date of composition is that known as "True Explanation of the Correct Religion," written by a certain Wang Tai-yü, who was probably a man of some importance, because he styled himself the "true elder among Moslems."[3] His work, consisting of five volumes, probably antedates the Manchu dynasty by several years, in fact the present existing copy bears the date A.D. 1642, in the oldest preface, which was two years prior to the formal organization of the government under Durgan, and some twenty years before K'ang Hsi came to the throne of the Dragon.[4] In this piece of literature, as well as in much of the early Moslem literature in China, the significant fact that the official imperial rescripts of toleration for the Mohammedan people are included, is well illustrated. Early Mohammedan authors and editors were particularly painstaking to show their loyalty to the government, to avoid the possibility of the

[3] i.e., "Chen hui lao jen." Copy examined Ch'engtu 1873. 530 pages.
[4] i.e., A.D. 1662. Title of Book: "Chen Chiao Chen Ch'uan."

charge of sedition, and to show the approval of the Sons of Heaven to the faith of Islam.[5] About thirty-five years after the appearance of Wang Tai-yü's work, there appeared a translation of an earlier composition brought from Persia or Arabia during the Yuan dynasty, well-fortified against an unresponsive public by long and weighty prefaces, which occupy a good part of the entire composition, which is known as "Important Items connected with Reverting to the Truth."[6]

A small book, of uncertain date but well known among students of the Moslem question in China, is that called the "First Coming of the Moslems." The copy which was examined was itself a reprint of 1919 in Peking, but it contained a preface which was dated in the first year of K'ang Hsi, viz., 1662. This important book is guilty of propagating the traditional "dream" theory for the entrance of the first Mohammedans into China, evidently with the intention of showing a certain reputable foundation for the Islamic faith, a kind of imperial excuse for the presence of such a large number of foreigners in western China. In other words, it would seem to indicate that the introduction of Mohammedanism into Sinim was at the request of the Emperor T'ai Tsung of the T'ang dynasty; but unfortunately the chronology is inaccurate, and certainly is insufficient proof regarding the "traditional" legends, as Hartmann is wont to call them; yet of the antiquity of the book in question there is little doubt.[7]

Only a few years subsequent to "First Coming of the Moslems," there appeared a book known as "The Compass of Islam,"[8] by a certain Panthay Moslem from Yungchangfu in Yunnan province, who was called Ma Wen-ping, but who styled himself the "elder of the Compass, Ma Chu."[9] The Chengtu edition of this work appeared in 1885, in ten volumes of over seven hundred and seventy-five pages, but other and shorter editions were also brought out, among them an abridgement of the larger work, consisting of but

[5] Title of Chinese emperors. "T'ien tzu." cf. Mason in Journal. p. 174.
[6] Title: "Kuei Chen Yao Tao I." I. Mason No. 197. Also Princeton Seminary Collection. (P.S.C.)
[7] Broomhall: "Islam." pp. 61, 64 *et seq.*
[8] Title: "Ch'ing Chen Chih Nan." Mason 62. cf. Broomhall: "Islam." p. 301.
[9] i.e., "Chih nan lao jen, Ma chu."

four volumes and called "Important Items from 'The Compass.'"[10] Here then we have a voice from the Panthays during the early Manchu period, indicative of a very large and important Mohammedan element in the population of that southwestern province in those early days.

It is apparent so far that we are dealing with an attempt on the part of Moslems to reach co-religionists through the medium of the Chinese language, and in fact this seems to have been the main purpose of using the Chinese language as a means to that end. There is nothing to justify any conclusion that the few books which were written were especially designed for propaganda among the non-Moslem population. They would have been wholly inadequate for this purpose, both from the standpoint of internal construction and argument, as well as from a literary point of view. The departure from the use of Arabic, Persian, or the Central Asian dialects, indicates a well-established population accepting much of Chinese culture at this date, and concurs with the general observation that Mohammedanism at an early period accommodated itself to a higher and richer culture than at least the Mohammedanism of Central Asia could boast. The literature before Liu Chiai-lien could not be called erudite, and it certainly was not voluminous. Much of the material consisted of the translations or collations of older works, with particular emphasis given to the Koran and commentaries on the Koran, and not until Liu Chiai-lien is there to be found any extensive and thorough scholarship among the Moslems born on Chinese soil.

Liu Chiai-lien, also called Liu Chih, was born in the city of Nanking during the early days of the Manchu dynasty, and devoted his life to scholarly pursuits. As a boy in his "teens" he studied the Chinese classics in the customary manner of school-boys of the period, learning to intone, and being able to recite from memory long passages from Confucius and Mencius. Following this early formal schooling,

[10] Title: "Chih Nan Yao Yen." Mason 28.

he is said to have devoted himself to a comprehensive study of "western" learning, during which study he devoted six years of his time to a mastery of Arabic, three years to a reading of Buddhistic classics, a year to the study of the "Tao Teh Ching" and other books of the Taoists, and then back to the Arabic and other "western" books, which may have included Persian and Turki.[11] His literary achievements were not made except at the price of much labor and tears; his friends and family disapproved of his being such a "book-worm" and enthusiast; and in the ascertaining of the facts concerning the life of the prophet he certainly met with little response from the Chinese. "He moved from place to place, visiting many famous spots and securing such material and help as he could. He pursued his reading among the dust of carts by which he travelled, and even when riding on his beast."[12]

Such a life was certainly more largely Chinese in its make-up than Central Asian, and the work and effort of Liu indicate a spirit governed largely by a Chinese background. Liu created a standard by which all Chinese Islamic scholars who followed him were to receive their inspiration and their guidance. The elevation and style of Liu's life of the prophet, though imperfect, yet reveals a technique which very few Mohammedan scholars have either been able or cared to cultivate before or since. Probably one of his earliest contributions to the cultural movement of the Renaissance was that of a work entitled "Islamic Philosophy."[13] This compendium of the philosophy of Islam has been a well from which most of the later writers seem to have drawn their thought. Certainly originality is not habitual with any of the several scholars with whom we have to do in this paper, and one of the constant "ear-marks" of all Mohammedan Chinese scholarship is this lack of originality and an increasing tendency to allow a well-defined past to circumscribe every present effort. The first preface of Liu Chiai-lien's "Islamic

[11] Mason: "The Arabian Prophet." p. xi.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. xii.
[13] Title: "T'ien Fang Hsing Li." cf. Broomhall: "Islam" p. 301. "Journal" p. 207. Mason No. 262. P.S.C. copy five folios bound in six volumes.

Philosophy" bears the date of the thirteenth year of the emperor K'ang Hsi, or about A. D. 1674. "Islamic Philosophy" includes a considerable number of ninth century diagrams and sketches illustrative of geography and current world history. Following this production, the author apparently re-worked and abridged the larger composition, issuing what is known as "Important Selections from Laws and Ceremonies of Moslems,"[14] with a preface bearing the date of A. D. 1710, and often bound under a different title known as "Rules and Ceremonies of the Moslems." It contains a large miscellany touching upon various metaphysical and practical issues connected with the faith and method of Islam.

Every student of Chinese classical studies is acquainted with an important part of the "Five Classics" [15] known as the "Spring and Autumn Annals," and, curiously enough, the "Arabian Spring and Autumn Annals" is a kind of analogue to the greater and better-known composition of Confucius.[16] To Liu also is ascribed the composition of a small metrical work known as the "Moslem Four-Character Classic,"[17] although it seems likely that the original work of Liu was done in the Arabic and afterwards transferred into Chinese metrical fashion by Mr. Ma An-li. The total effort of Liu will be difficult to ascertain or properly appraise, inasmuch as he wrote in the Arabic as well as in the Chinese.

The crowning production of a long and busy life was the "Life of Mohammed," which Liu wrote after spending many years in the collection of all the available data from Chinese sources. The student of Chinese Mohammedan literature is indebted to Mr. Isaac Mason for an interesting and helpful rendition of Liu's work known as the "True Annals of the Prophet,"[18] which Mr. Mason calls "The Arabian Prophet."[19] The various authorities are disagreed as to the time of composition, but the date is usually placed between A. D. 1721 and 1724, and the consensus of opinion

[14] Title: "T'ien Fang Tien Li Tse Yao Chiai." Mason. No. 284.
[15] i.e., "Wu ching."
[16] Title: "Er Lei Pi Ch'un Ch'iu." Mason No. 115. Later revised by Ma Fu-ch'u.
[17] Title: "T'ien Fang Ssu Tzu Ching." Mason No. 276. cf. Broomhall: "Islam." p. 302.
[18] Title: "T'ien Fang Chih Sheng Lu Nien P'u." Mason No. 260. Also P.S.C.
[19] Shanghai, 1921. pp. 313.

seems to indicate that the publication was delayed several decades after the completion of the work. A. D. 1780 has been suggested as about the time of the first edition of the "True Annals of the Prophet."

With the passing of Liu Chiai-lien we come to the second cultural movement of the next century, the period of the Moslem apologetic and Ma Fu-Ch'u.

2. THE MOSLEM APOLOGETIC AND MA FU-CH'U:

The first important cultural movement was found to synchronize with the first great Manchu emperors, culminating in the annexation of Turkestan by the Emperor Ch'ien Lung[20] about 1770. This annexation was the *modus operandi* by which a new interchange of central Asian culture and Chinese culture was to take place; and as the period of the renaissance coincided with the achievement of K'ang Hsi, so the period of the apologetic coincided with the achievement of Ch'ien Lung, reaching its fullest manifestation in Ma Fu-ch'u, famous scholar and apologist of the early nineteenth century.[21] Five years after the passing of the great consummator, Ch'ien Lung, Ma Fu-ch'u was born, and half a century later he was to emerge as the leading spokesman of the apologetic school of Islamic thought in China, at a period when Islam was sorely tried to defend itself in the far west against the "fusion policies" of the later Manchus, and to defend itself at many points in view of an increasing Christian propaganda in west China. Ma Fu-ch'u was thoroughly trained in the Chinese and Arabian classics, and gave himself first of all in an effort to revise some of the work of his predecessors. Ma Ch'u's work came under his purview at an early date and he revised it thoroughly and then followed this by a revision of the "Arabian Spring and Autumn Annals" already referred to. Ma was able to bring to his service a knowledge of Persia, Arabic and Chinese, and with such massive intellectual tools it is no wonder that he is looked upon as a peer among Moslems. As a matter of fact most

[20] Pott: op. cit., p. 103 *et seq.*
[21] Ch'ien Lung voluntarily abdicated, A.D. 1796. d. 1799. Ma Fu-ch'-u usually signs himself "Fu-ch'u."

of the present modernist school of Peking stand on the shoulders of Ma Fu-ch'u before they attempt to lift the little finger to dot an "i" or cross a "t."

Mr. Ma's apologetic started where any significant apologetic ought to begin, for it began with the conceptions of God in current philosophical and everyday thought. In his work entitled "Great Praise of Heaven"[22] he has attempted to show the relation between the Confucian term for "heaven" and the Moslem term for "god." This small book is a kind of panegyric of the Confucian terminology; in fact the word "heaven" is used some sixty or seventy times in the composition. At a later date another scholar named A Juh-fu re-edited this book giving his own annotations under the title "Commentary on 'The Great Praise of Heaven'" probably desirous of explaining further certain points in the earlier work of Ma Fu-ch'u.[23]

In A. D. 1842, Ma Fu-ch'u issued a copy of a diary which he had made during a long pilgrimage to Arabia, in which he narrates the journey from day to day, giving some detail concerning the points of interest, the length of the stages, and the types and kinds of people to be met with along the way. This diary was originally in Arabic, so it remained for a pupil and admirer, Ma An-li, to transcribe and translate the book into Chinese. This "Record of the Pilgrimage"[24] was written during the twenty-first year of the emperor Tao Kuang, but not until the tenth year of Hsien Feng[25] was the work of translation completed by Ma An-li.

Ma Fu-ch'u has made his contribution to the history of Mohammedanism by the re-editing of a Persian work concerning the progress of the faith in China,[26] and by a contribution toward moral reformation in his "Admonitions to Arouse the World."[27] In this latter work the Chinese moralist unites with the Mohammedan traditionalist to give what was probably a word in season concerning the

[22] Title: "Tsu T'ien Ta Tsan Chen Ching." Mason No. 298.
[23] Title: (cf. Mason No. 264). "T'ien Fang Hsin Yuan Chen." i.e., "The Sources of Belief." In P.S.C. the latter is bound up with Mason No. 272 of the same author.
[24] Title: "Ch'ao Ching T'u Chi." Mason No. 4. Also P.S.C.
[25] i.e., A.D. 1861.
[26] Mason No. 125. Both sections bound in one in the P.S.C. copy.
[27] Title: "Hsing Shih Chen." Mason No. 148. Date blurred, probably about 1870.

practical everyday moral life of the Moslem population of West China. Not only did this author attempt to embrace history and moral reform, but poetry came under his purview also, and it seems to have been his earnest desire to compose a book of odes which would be an analogy to the Confucian book of the same name so well known to students of the Chinese classics. Yet Ma was never able to complete the project, except to write a preface in A. D. 1867, and thereby inspire his pupil and literary successor Ma An-li to proceed with the composition of what was thereafter known as the "Islamic Book of Odes."[28]

Ma Fu-ch'u lived in a period when the leaven of western culture was just beginning to penetrate into China, which fact obliged him to re-think the Moslem problem through, and re-align the faith of Islam to accommodate it to the advance of a new day. Ma was certainly not a creative mind, but he possessed some considerable philosophical acumen, and united it with a rare combination of Chinese, Arabic and Persian learning such as to make him a master of three languages, difficult yet important for Mohammedan China. Ma Fu-ch'u seems to lack the historian's art of searching painstakingly for the facts; nor did he possess the intellectual tools necessary to deal with western culture as it was then beginning to penetrate into China. Yet what Ma Fu-ch'u does seem to have possessed was a rare gift of languages, a certain sense of perspicuity, a desire to appreciate another point of view than his own; in short, he was a syncretist[29] and an apologist, the Chinese and the Central Asian meeting and straining for mutual understanding in the one mind and in the one heart. Modern Moslem apology in China has never risen higher than Ma Fu-ch'u and probably never will, but will rather "reinterpret" this scholar to the world over and over again just as the modern Peking school has succeeded in doing during the past decade or longer. Except for the figure of Ma An-li, with perhaps one or two others of lesser importance,

[28] Title: "T'ien Fang Shih Ching." Mason No. 279. Also P.S.C.
[29] The Moslem World. vol. x, p. 254f.

we pass on from the age of the apologists of last century to the age of the "modernists" of the present era.[30]

Ma An-li, pupil and follower of Ma Fu-ch'u, belongs to the transition period from the school of the apologetic to the modernist school of recent date. Mention has already been made of his translation of the diary of Ma Fu-ch'u, and of his completion of the book of odes contemplated and prefaced by his predecessor. It is also to Ma An-li that we owe a translation of Ma Fu-ch'u's short hortatory tract entitled "True Virtue,"[31] as well as his "Rites and Rules Explicated."[32] Ma An-li seems to have contributed an original work on "Arabic Poetic Method"[33] devoted to an explanation of Arabic poetic composition.

3. THE MODERNIST MOVEMENT AND THE PEIPING SCHOOL

(a) The literary method.

The unfortunate course of events in west China, brought about by a sanguine yet hopeless contest of the Mohammedan peoples for a measure of self-determination, resulted in the decay of life and letters among this people during the latter half of the nineteenth century; and very little literature of real or lasting value seems to have been produced during those years of bloodshed and turmoil, when Islam was decidedly out of favor with the Court and with the people. Yet, with the turn of the century and especially by reason of the rise of the Republic, somewhat of a new era was to open for China as a whole, and, what appeared to be for her various distinctive peoples as well, a new and interesting form of representation in government heretofore unknown.[34]

With the new Republic there entered a flood of western ideas—such ideas as invariably seem bound up with political democracy—and among these new and untried ideas were

[30] Also further works of Ma Fu-ch'u:—
"Ssu Tien Yao Hui." Mason No. 245. P.S.C. pp. 96. Reprint 1922. Cover commendation of Ma Fuh-hsiang.
"Ta Hua Tsung Kuei." Mason No. 247. P.S.C. copy a reprint of 1922. First printed in fourth year of T'ong Chih. Cover commendation of Ma Fuh-hsiang.
"T'ien Fang Huan Yu Shu Yao." Mason No. 267.
"T'ien Fang Li Fa T'u." Mason No. 269. Also P.S.C.
"T'ien Li Ming Yun Shoh." Mason No. 292.
[31] Title: "Chen Teh Mi Wei." Mason No. 9.
[32] Title: "Li Fa Ch'i Ai." Mason No. 203.
[33] Title: "T'ien Fang Shih Fa." Mason No. 280.
[34] THE MOSLEM WORLD. vol. xiii. p. 291 *et seq.*

larger and more ideal views of life and religion, as well as of arts, sciences, and literature. A group of young Mohammedans in Peiping were caught in the swirl of that early enthusiasm for the Republic, and they entered into a widespread movement to bring China up-to-date, first of all through a system of modern education suitable to the need of the time. A large part of "the newer innovations" was assumed by a comprehensive school-system which was to cover the land with schools and assure to every boy and girl in China an education suited to his or her place in the new and awakened empire. Another large part of "the newer innovation" was assumed by the public press, and an increasing number of periodicals and dailies appeared on the public news-stands. It was a day for the popularizing and broadcasting of ideas and slogans, and for the production of vast quantities of propaganda literature of all kinds. It was the day of pamphleteering all over again; and it is a significant fact that over fifty percent of the issues of literature by the modernist school of Peiping consists of small booklets, or printed pictures and diagrams, none of which exceed twenty or thirty small pages in length. The Mohammedan Bookstore in Peiping[35] has adopted the same method, and with considerable evidence of enthusiasm has issued large numbers of small books on Mohammedanism, most of which are former works simplified and presented in popular language. The Moslems throughout China have made several abortive attempts to publish regular weekly or monthly periodicals, and probably financial difficulties have occasioned their small measure of success,[36] yet possibly a lack of concerted and capable leadership has caused much of this failure, and certainly few of the well-known Moslem leaders in the world of politics seem to have risen in the public eye as scholars, except (possibly) General Ma Fuh-hsiang. Islam in China today is a "leaderless" religion. The political,

[35] Address: Ox Street, Peiping. cf. MOSLEM WORLD vol. vi. p. 301ff.

[36] Abortive efforts:—
Islamitic Weekly, Mason 64 (1922); *Canons of Islam in Translation*, Mason 73 (1916); *The Islamitic Monthly*, Mason 94 (1920); *Islamitic Monthly Magazine*, Mason 95 (1917) Yunnan. cf. no. 188; *Arabic Colloquial Magazine*, Mason 172 (1913); *Bright Virtue Magazine*, Mason 218 (1924) Tientsin; cf. MOSLEM WORLD vol. xv. p. 385. Also cf. Mason No. 219.

social, industrial, educational and other religious currents form too strong a complex for this "leaderless" religion to make headway.

The tendency to popularize education has had its consequence upon all literature, including Mohammedan literature, and a most interesting study of the impact of this new educational system upon Islamic culture might be made. The government system of schools has undermined the parochial mosque school-system of Islam, and the mosque schools of the present time are carried on with but indifferent success, with notable exceptions here or there, e.g., Peiping. Not only are the funds inadequate, but the teaching is either of inferior type, or, what is more often the case, hopelessly out-of-date and unsuited to the real need of Moslem youth in a changing China. These mosque schools are the custodians of tradition, to be sure, but of a tradition which is unknown or unheeded by the mass of the Chinese population, and often neglected by the Moslem population itself. The emphasis upon "sacrosanct" Arabic, a hearty neglect of Chinese learning, mixed with a spirit of implacable intolerance is surely "the last straw" to Moslem well-being in the land, and certainly does not augur well for any future to the faith of Islam.[37] The modernist school in Peiping appear to be divided on the question of policy and program; the younger members of the community favoring the newer methods of education and desiring a greater emphasis upon useful everyday Chinese learning, such as will help their youth toward a better position in the life of the great Chinese republic. This program, on the other hand, is opposed by the older Ahungs, many of whom come out of the heart of Central Asia with the bigotry of Bokhara and Samarkand, and who incline toward the medievalism which has always characterized the Central Asian Mohammedan scholasticism. It must be admitted that their emphasis upon the older learning is a strong factor in helping to preserve the self-identity of the faithful amidst the Chinese society, but they are playing a losing

[37] The Moslem World. vol. x. p. 164.

game, and the influence of these elder statesmen is on the wane—judging by the literature now being issued from Peiping.

From the standpoint of printing activity, probably Peiping is now the most important Moslem center in China, although such large cities as Canton, Nanking, Changsha, Kaifeng, Chengtu and Yunnanfu in China, and Tokyo in Japan, are places of much importance.[38] The writer has met with Ahungs from Japan, Kansu, Szechuan, Honan, and other districts of China, each stationed in some one of the thirty-eight Peiping mosques; but the leadership rests in large measure upon a preponderance of Ahungs from Central Asia, who appear to be the custodians of the Arabic and Persian learning in Peiping. It is highly problematical how much real unity exists amongst the various mosques of Peiping, and one is persuaded from contact with the various Ahungs, that there exists a considerable disparity of outlook. This disparity is due to different racial outlooks or to political antagonism, and in large measure to the distinctive differences of the old and the new sects of Moslem thought and practice.[39]

A chief point of interest in the modernist movement has been a reemphasis upon the Koranic literature.[40] This need not be looked upon as necessarily a reactionary movement, but has probably been born of a desire to revalue and re-study the Mohammedan Scriptures (with something of the fidelity which is evidenced by a strong Christian practice of venerating the Christian scriptures), thereby to find solid foundation for a religious propaganda and a spiritual stability. The text book for all Mohammedan religious education has always been the "Holy Koran," and this book is used as the basis of a good deal of the system of instruction for the youth. Portions of the Koran are transliterated and then translated—often with a suitable commentary on the passage by way of explication. Nevertheless, although the Koran is venerated, it is understood only by the few,

[38] Broomhall: "Islam" pp. 196, 238. p. 93 *et seq.* p. 200 *et seq.* Present writer has list of 38 Peiping mosques. (1928).
[39] Cf. Broomhall, Barthold, Hartmann, Andrew *et al* on "sects."
[40] THE MOSLEM WORLD: vols. xv-p. 386. xvi-p. 161f. xvii-p. 290. xxi-p. 287 *et seq.*

and even many of the Ahungs, though able to recite its passages, are unable to explain its meaning with any kind of an expository style. Mr. A. C. Hanna says that "One occasionally finds a Panthay layman who reads the Koran. . . . . A few of the Mullahs have a real knowledge of Arabic, and in the northern part of Yunnan there may be some who know Persian."[41] Mr. Isaac Mason believes that the use of Arabic is less among the Moslems of the south and east than among those dwelling in north China.[42] This is undoubtedly a correct statement, and is substantiated by the preponderant influence of the Peiping school in all matters of Arabic and Persian learning. Alongside of this emphasis upon Koranic learning to which I have alluded must be mentioned a movement toward a hard and set legalism by the stress laid upon the rites of formal worship. Booklets are issued in a constant stream showing the importance of the outward form of prayer, and the necessity for strict observance of the creed and practice of the faith. This legalism certainly does not, nor can it ever, appeal to the individualism of the Chinese, and surely, appearing as it does without a proper rationalization and strong emphasis upon a moral equivalent, its ultimate reception by Moslems in China is a matter of serious conjecture. When a revival of religion becomes a revival of rules and forms it appeals but little to the modern mind, and still less to the pragmatic and practical Chinese. It is quite apparent that the modernist school of Peiping lack a capable apologetic, and they are certainly laying themselves open to any strong rationalizing movement, such as the Ahmadiyya movement, in the near future; in fact, *that* movement has already made its appearance in China, and according to the Chinese mind ought to grow rapidly wherever it touches Chinese Islam. Chinese Islam in the near future will be forced to one of two extremes, either to the Ahmadiyya modernism or to

[41] The Moslem World: vol. xxi, p. 73.

[42] Typical books on Koran: Mason Nos. 132, 128 (P.S.C.), 34 (P.S.C.), 121 (P.S.C.), 227, 194 or 120, 254 (P.S.C.), 133 (P.S.C.), 256 (P.S.C.)
Typical books of Transition period: Chih Mi K'ao Cheng." Mason No. 26; "Ssu Chiao Yao Kua." Mason No. 243; "Pien Li Ming Cheng Yu Lu." Mason No. 230.

Sufism, such Sufism as has appeared with growing influence among the Tungani.[43]

It would be an interesting and a profitable philological study to ascertain the effect of Mohammedan culture upon the Chinese language; for every exotic culture, especially Buddhism, has had an effect on the language, to a lesser or greater degree. Nestorianism, Zorastrianism, Manichaeism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism and Christianity have all left their impress, and in Central Asia especially the simple every-day words of Mohammedanism such as the terms for God, Mosque, Moslem Priest, Koran, and others, are known and used by the Chinese population itself. Were it not for the unfortunate fact that the Mohammedan is usually thought of as a man riding on a horse and carrying a gun, the contribution of Mohammedanism to the language might be taken a bit more kindly, rather than with the "puns," "epithets," and "proverbs" which so characterize Chinese estimations. It is certainly not to the glory of a great culture that Chinese are rather wont to use such expressions as:—"Ten Mohammedans, nine thieves."[44]

Referring again to the literary method employed by the Peiping school, it is notable that the mechanical method of the "Ode" has been employed especially for inculcating Moslem truth into the minds of boys and girls. This "Ode" method is particularly attractive to the Chinese students, for its structure appeals to the eye, and its swing or kind of iambic beat appeals to the ear. The "Three-Character Classic" of China is a very famous ode on the history of the people, and the Moslem scholars have followed this method to represent Mohammedan history, several of which odes are now on the market.[45]

Another literary method besides that of the "Ode" is the recent use of the "Catechism." This method apparently dates back to Socrates, but it has been employed by Mohammedans in China for only a short period, and was probably

[43] THE MOSLEM WORLD. vol. xxi. pp. 408, 409 on translation of Ahmadiyya books of Mohammed Ali and Mohammed Manzur Ilahi.

[44] i.e., "Shih-ko Hui-Hui, Chiu-ko Tseh."

[45] Typical Mohammedan Odes: Three-character odes—Mason Nos. 216, 274, 275, 277, 278; Four-character odes—Mason Nos. 184, 186, 268, 55 or 257 (P. S. C.), 276; Seven-character odes—Mason Nos. 12, 61, 264; Mixed odes—Ten-character: Mason No. 70. (3,7,7,7: 3,3,7,7,7) Mason No. 150. cf. No. 91 and No. 279.

stimulated into being by the Christian use of the same for propaganda and instruction purposes in Central China.[46] Although, technically speaking, the catechism is a question and answer method, yet if this is strictly the case there will be found to be but one or two catechisms in the whole of Chinese Mohammedan literary production; therefore I have chosen to include by the term "catechism" any and all shorter and simpler books of instruction on the elemental points of the faith, and it is proposed herewith to represent by free translation something of the type of instruction which characterizes the teaching of the modernist school of Peiping at the present time.

(b) Review of "Guide to Islam."

First of all the author gives a brief statement of the creed, introducing each section with the words of personal attestation, "I believe." I believe in the One God Who is Everlastingly Supreme in Awful Greatness. I believe in the innumerable Angels who fill the nine heavens and the seven earths as spirit messengers of Awful Greatness. Of these spirit messengers, Gabriel, messenger of the Koran, is the chief, because the Koran is the final revelation of Awful Greatness. Next after Gabriel is Michael, who controls the physical well-being of all living things on the earth. Israfil controls the life-span of man. Azrafil dispenses the judgments of Awful Greatness. I believe in the Word of the Lord in the plenitude of its one hundred and fourteen chapters. I acknowledge the revelation of the Law of Moses; of the Psalms to David; and of the good news of the Gospel to Jesus. Most of all I find in the Koran given to Mohammed the consummate revelation of Awful Greatness in its one hundred and fourteen chapters and its excellent six thousand six hundred and sixty-six paragraphs.

I believe[47] in the many prophets of the Lord who number one hundred and twenty-four thousand, and who are ranked

[46] Cf. Mason No. 206. (P.S.C. copy reprint of 1925).
cf. Mason No. 63. Title: "Ch'ing Chen Chi Yin." (P.S.C. copy of 1917).
[47] Cf. Broomhall: "Islam." p. 245 *et seq.*

into four grades, of which Mohammed is first, after which come the great holy prophets, the great royal prophets, and the prophets of rank. I believe in the final punishment of all unbelievers. I believe in the predestination of all things; of some to good, and of some to evil. I believe in two resurrections which will be followed by the judgment of angels upon men for their works at the bridge *"Sirat."*

After having given this seven-fold creed, the author goes on to develop the doctrine of disqualification of faith. Except in the instance of requiring public justice, the murder of a fellow-Moslem is a disqualification to faith. Appropriation of the property of a fellow-Moslem by any illegitimate means whatsoever is an infringement of faith. Eavesdropping and inquisitiveness concerning another's personal right, such as would defame or embarrass him, is a disqualification. The unreasonable or slanderous attitude toward a fellow-Moslem is to be deprecated. Moslems are to live together as brethren should live. Slavery of a Moslem child is strictly prohibited, and the children of the unbeliever may only be enslaved for the purpose of redeeming such to the Moslem faith. Purgatory is prepared for sinners, and the unbelieving will assuredly go to eternal punishment.

Moslems do well to be reminded of the five injunctions of Heaven and of the two commands of men; although the commands of men to filial piety and brotherliness are of less importance than the obligations of Heaven. There is first of all the obligation of the Basmala for continual invocation. In the second place formal prayer is to be made five times daily and with special attention to attendance at the mosque each Friday. Of the two yearly fasts the important one is to be meticulously observed. The method of almsgiving is to be carefully practiced, and the basis of reckoning requires that for every fourteen ounces of silver, thirty-five hundredths of an ounce shall be devoted to relieving the poor brother. Pilgrimage to Mecca is obligatory upon all who are able to finance it, and where possible more than one pilgrimage is advisable.

The author includes a list of practices which are ruinous to faith, and some of the chief errors are given here. To fail to believe the creed is to lightly regard sin. The word of God and His four Imams must be carefully observed. The denial of predestination, a rebellious spirit, and a sinful heart of unbelief are all ruinous to faith. Direct opposition to the Word of God and the four Imams is fatal to true belief. To allow position in life to interfere with obedience to the Word of God and Mohammed must not be. To refute the doctrine of punishment and to make division or degree in heaven or hell is wrong, for man cannot arbitrarily change the fixed will of God concerning salvation or punishment. Ridicule and envy must be avoided. Association with enchanters, intercourse with idolaters, worship of "city-gods,"[48] "gods of wealth,"[49] "Confucius,"[50] or "ancestors,"[51] is very sinful.

The ethic at the basis of Mohammedan society has an eight-fold foundation. God must be recognized as the One True God. The righteousness of God must be acknowledged. The society of the faithful must follow Mohammed, the prophet of God. The society of the faithful must give due reverence to the leaders of the past, the great Imams. The faithful must acknowledge the present authority of their spiritual leaders, the Ahungs of the Mosques, and the Elders of the faithful. Mohammedans are urged to be true Moslems; to remember the commandments to do right and avoid the wrong; to cast out adulterers; to give honor where honor is due among the society of the faithful.

The next section affords instruction to all good Moslems in preparation for death. It is a reminder of the questions of the two angels of death—Munkar and Nakír. Be prepared, it says, to give quick and proper answer to the questions which will be asked by the Angels of death. These questions will be six in number, viz., Who is your God? Who is the Holy One of God? What is your Sacred Book? What is your sect of the faith? Who are your brethren?

[48] i.e., *Ch'eng-shen.*
[49] *Ts'ai-shen.*
[50] *K'ung Fu-tzu.*
[51] Cf. the prevalent Saint-worship in Northwestern China.

Where is the place which is holy to your faith? After this the author gives a miscellany dealing with various aspects of instruction in some of the practical duties as well as a few theoretical considerations. One section deals with every-day practical problems in religious ceremonialism. Considerable attention is given to the regulation and proper conduct of public prayer, including methods by which mistakes at prayer may be rectified. Some considerable space is devoted to a setting-forth of the requirements concerning "leadership" at prayers, as follows:—The leader must be a man of ability and thoroughly conversant with the recitation in public worship. The technique of worship must always be carefully observed by the leader at prayer. The worshipper must have clear vision and be sound of body before he may engage in worship. Men may not be led in prayer by women or by children. The healthy may not be led in prayer by the sickly. The men of literary attainment may not be led in prayer by the ignorant man. The man properly clothed may not he led in prayer by the improperly clothed individual. The discreet may not be led in prayer by the indiscreet. Men of piety shall not be led in prayer by the impious, nor shall members of the true sect be led in prayer by members of another sect.

The concluding pages deal with the question of the fast, preparation and conduct of the same, together with the proper method of rectification in case of error or lapse. The important aspects of ceremonial cleansing are stated. The amount and manner of reckoning the giving of alms are carefully set forth against any possible infringement or misunderstanding of this rite. It is interesting to observe that the order of giving begins at home. Distribution to the needy must begin with relatives and friends, after which one's neighbors and one's fellow-villagers may be helped; last of all, members of the faithful in outside villages. This small catechism is sufficient evidence to show something of the type of literature and the method of instruction which is now being employed among the Mohammedans of China. This sort of production is largely con-

fined to categorical instruction of an extremely traditional nature, and one often wonders with what measure of credulity such hard and fast doctrine is received by the youth among the Moslems of China. To quote from Lammens, "One of the characteristic traits of Islam is its conservative spirit.—But life pays no attention to abstract theories. In order to live, Islam has had to bow to the conditions governing all living organisms."[52] This bowing to the conditions governing all living organisms is certainly a characteristic of the type of Mohammedanism which is to be found in China, and the type of literature which she is producing seems to be the almost hopeless effort of a few to hold the majority to some kind of an allegiance to the principles and practices of the prophet of Arabia [53] in a sort of out-worn categorical imperative.

Our studies began with The Moslem Renaissance and Liu Chiai-lien, and the exhaustive life of the prophet compiled by Liu was found to be the chief literary production of this period of Moslem cultural achievement. Indeed, the period of which Liu Chiai-lien was apostle, may well be styled the "golden age" of endeavor. The high sense of deity combined in Liu with a superior Chinese ethic of life, and the ferment of these two great truths in consequence produced a type or reconstruction of Mohammedanism better able to maintain itself with any degree of survival value in the great empire and "in the Chinese sea of salt."

With the passing of Liu Chiai-lien the first cultural movement ceases, and as time progressed the Mohammedan way of life in China was forced more and more to defend itself against external attack. For this purpose the school of apologetic of the nineteenth century with Ma Fu-ch'u as its leader was organized to withstand the outside pressure. Ma Fu-ch'u possessed a rare combination of linguistic attainments and used his accomplishments in defense of his faith. The personality and scholarship of Ma Fu-ch'u has

[52] Lammens: p. 179. cf. also pp. 199, 216.
[53] Other P.S.C. books examined:—Mason Nos. 6, 21, 129 or 204, 144, 86 or 87, 124, 137, 296 or 297, 154, 139, 159, 52, 196, 238, 312, 111.

been a source of inspiration to subsequent scholars of Islam. Ma Fu-ch'u attempted to syncretize other religions with Mohammedanism; he rather avoided syncretizing Mohammedanism with other religions. That is to say, he was not concerned with modifying Islam so much as he was interested in naturalizing Islam on Chinese soil and among other faiths.

After the passing of Ma Fu-ch'u, with the possible exception of Ma An-li, we have discovered no outstanding theologian of Islam in all of China. The chief characteristic of the modern period with its Peiping school seems to have been this very same lack of suitable and capable leadership. This deficiency in leadership has certainly had its debilitating effect on the literature. Certainly the answer to the problem how best to naturalize the faith and to reconcile the present "irreconcilable" features of a theocratic and traditional Islam in a democratic and pragmatic society is not yet forthcoming, judging from the literature which emanates from Peiping. Pure and simple propaganda without philosophical and reasonable proof is unthinkable in a modern world. The practical outcome will assuredly mean an internal revolution in Chinese Islam. Perhaps the beginning of this revolution has already appeared in the mutual antagonism of the "old" and "new" sects and, what is more startling, by the entrance of a definite Ahmadiyya tendency in North China, to say nothing of a growing Sufism in West China among the Tungan. The defense of Islam must soon shift to a rationalistic or else to a mystical basis, and the isolation of all this from the traditionalism of the past spells the downfall of Islam in China. The study of the doctrines of the "old" and the "new" sects in current literature would be illuminating. Certainly there is no more sign of inward unity expressed through her literature than of social unity expressed by her life. Practically every Moslem rebellion in China has been occasioned, extenuated or shortened, as the case may be, by a very real disunity in the midst of the so-called "Islamic brotherhood."

The fact that Islam has taught the unity of God (in the midst of Chinese polytheism) is probably the one and only lasting reason for the staying power of that faith in China; for apart from this one "positive" it is quite discernible from a practical point of view that Islam at present lives by two "negatives." That is to say, the ordinary Mohammedan does *not,* or is not supposed to, eat pork. This is the first negative. Again, the ordinary Mohammedan does not, or is not supposed to, worship idols. That is the second negative. Yet a faith cannot flourish for very long on negatives and the lack of affirmations, the attempt to traditionalize, and the effort to terrorize the young, will never satisfy the requirements for a long-lived religion.

Our examination of the literature of Islam in China shows us the fact that modern Islam faces divided roads, the road toward syncretism or the road away from syncretism. Should the first road be followed she will finally lose all her self-identity and, again, should the second road be followed, Islam will play a losing game, which must certainly end in defeat. Here then is the dilemma which modern Islam faces in China, and here then is the problem of Mohammedan religious education which, traced down through the centuries, seems to point to a final failure at the hand of a crushing modernized civilization.

Princeton, N. J. H. D. Hayward.

GHAZALI ON THE INNER SECRET AND OUTWARD EXPRESSION OF RELIGION, IN HIS "CHILD"

Ghazali is regarded by many as the greatest of Mohammedan theologians. He was born at Tus, 1058 A. D., and died at the same place in 1111. He was thus contemporary with the beginnings of Christian scholasticism, and is believed to have influenced Aquinas, who lived one hundred and fifty years later. Educated highly in all that Mohammedan schools could afford him, he became a famous teacher of Law at Baghdad. At the height of his success he suddenly and unaccountably abandoned his position, and began a protracted life of wandering (1096 ff.). It was utterly unintelligible to his associates, and Ghazali himself gave no explanation of it. But in his autobiography [1] he has revealed the secret and given the detailed story of a conversion as remarkable as that of Luther, and very much like it.

In his youth he had been led to abandon all reliance upon authority in religion, and had finally sunk into a scepticism which questioned even the evidence of the senses and the ultimate postulates of human thinking. Emerging from this condition, he entered upon elaborate studies. He began with scholastic theology, but found that the scholastics postulated principles for which they could give no reasons, and hence really depended upon authority. By the time he arrived at Baghdad to teach Law, he had advanced to the study of the philosophers. He found little help here. Then he turned to the Sufis. With them he had been acquainted more or less from his

1 The *"Munqidh."* See Macdonald's "Life" in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, 1899, p. 82 ff.; also in an abridged form in his "Muslim Theology, etc." From this very remarkable Life I have drawn all these details. His relation to other Mohammedan Theologians, p. 114.

youth. He now studied their writings and engaged in their religious practices and wearied himself with their requirements, but gained no permanent satisfaction. He had, however, now arrived at conviction in regard to three distinct things,—the being of God, the reality of prophecy, and the last judgment. He had also come to understand that only by detaching himself from this world, its life, enjoyments, and honors, and turning to God, could he be saved in the world to come. "He felt on the edge of an abyss; his fears urged him away." And thus it was that he abandoned everything and wandered off as a Sufi. He had given up all for God. This was his conversion.

It is not necessary to go into the story of the following ten years, of Ghazali's stay at Damascus, his pilgrimage to Mecca, his various writings, his final settlement in his native Tus. Enough has now been said to show how essentially modern his experience was, and to awaken the expectation that he will be found to be a teacher of great value to our own times. Macdonald sums up his significance in the history of humanity's struggle to find God, in the following passage: "He made his mark by leading Islam back to its fundamental and historic facts, and by giving a place in its system to the emotional religious life. . . . He was not a scholar who struck out a new path, but a man of intense personality who entered on a path already trodden and made it the common highway. We have here his character. Other men may have been keener logicians, more learned theologians, more gifted saints; but he, through his personal experiences, had attained so overpowering a sense of the divine realities, that the force of his character—once combative and restless, now narrowed and intense—swept all before it, and the church of Islam entered on a new era of its existence." [2]

Of the lesser writings of Ghazali, one of the most charming and valuable is the little tract entitled the

2 Macdonald, *ib.* p. 124 ff.

"Child." [3] It is proposed in the following article to review this tract, not from a linguistic, historical, or literary point of view, but simply as an embodiment of the teachings of this great philosopher and theologian on the religious life. It is the less necessary to undertake a more general discussion of the work that a number of scholars are engaged upon it, and that what is neglected in the present review will be more abundantly discussed by them.

The edition of the "Child" with which the writer began its study was that of Hammer-Purgstall, Vienna, 1838,[4] comprising the Arabic text and a German translation. A text published in Constantinople in 1879, with commentary, has also been consulted. It is learned that a critical text is about to be published in Beirut by Dr. George H. Scherer, who has prepared it by reproducing an especially fine Dresden MS., with notes collating several other MSS., an English translation and a careful discussion.

The tract takes the form of answers to a certain pupil for the solution of his difficulties. In the introduction he is described as "devoted to the service" of Ghazali, and as having pursued his studies in science [5] till he had made considerable progress both in knowledge and self-discipline. Then, one day, he fell into reflections upon the condition of his soul, and began to think of the future life, and the grave and the resurrection, and to ask himself what, of all which he had learned, would profit him in the hereafter, and what would not. The words of the Koran occurred to him, "O God, I flee to thee from knowledge which does not profit";[6] and this thought of a flight to God so persisted that he made the request of his master, to which the tract is the reply. And he asked not only Ghazali's instruction, in brief form which he could pre-

3 The Arabic title is *Yā ayyuhā'l-walad.*

4 Indicated throughout by H-P.

5 *'Ilm.* This word signifies in the tract, variously, science in the abstract, a particular science, or simply knowledge.

6 Not an accurate quotation, but partially found in cxiii. and cxiv. Ghazali was habitually inaccurate in quotations. Macdonald, l.c., p. 76 mentions his quoting 1 Cor. 2:9 as if from the Koran.

serve, and by which he could guide his life, but also a prayer which he could read from time to time.

One cannot fail to see here a certain autobiographic touch, and we may anticipate that Ghazali is about to write to this pupil, evidently a favorite one, out of the fullness of his own experience.

To take a preliminary glance at the general course of the reply, we find it opening with the simple reference to the Koran. "If counsel has come to thee from that mine of truth, what need of my advice? But if not, thou hast gained little in the years that have passed." [7] It is Macdonald's "biblical theologian" who speaks here.

But he goes on, nevertheless, to make a prolonged answer of his own. The first division discusses the perennial question as to faith and works. "Can faith save a man?" (Cf. Jas. 2: 14). Next he discusses prayer. Then he passes to law and obedience. Then he discusses the experiential side of religion (Sufism). And finally he sets forth how the pupil, become a Sufi and a preacher, should conduct himself—a discussion of homiletics and practical ethics.

As Ghazali entered upon this task, he saw that he must come to closer quarters with his pupil than a mere appeal to the Koran. He had to show him that a faith which did not lead necessarily to a life of doing the will of God was no faith. He had to awaken him from his "dogmatic slumbers," as deep as Kant's, and make him effective in the swirling confusion of a sinful world. He perceived that, like so many others earlier and later, his pupil thought a theoretical knowledge of God, without that which was to Ghazali the whole secret of religion, viz., an experiential knowledge, satisfied the text "I flee to God," which had so much impressed him. Hence Ghazali asked the question, How shall a man know that he has come to God? and answered it negatively—He may know he has *not* come, when he is forgetful of his religious duties. Or, to put it in Ghazali's words,

[7] I translate here, as everywhere else in this article, freely, but with the greatest effort to convey the exact meaning of the Arabic.

> "That a man becomes engrossed with what is not God's purpose for him, is a sign that God has turned from him. He of whose life an hour has fled which was occupied in something different from that for which he was created and fitted, shall suffer anguish on the day of resurrection."

The nature of man is here said to be "fitted" (*jadīr*) for the religious life—a profound thought to which Ghazali gives a wide application. All this is expressed in loose quotation from the Koran; and such an authority, says Ghazali, is enough for any scholar.

This advice, viz., to conduct oneself according to the will of God, is difficult to accept, says Ghazali, "because it is bitter to the feelings[8] of one who follows his passions, since the things forbidden are dear to his heart, especially if he is pursuing a prescribed course of study, and busied with his own acquirements, and with jurisprudence, and the labors of the world."[9] Ghazali therefore impresses his thought by means of illustrations.

If a lion in the desert attacks an armed man, can he repel it without striking and smiting it? If he can, his weapons have no value. In the same way, if a man has learned 100,000 controversial points of a science, and has not acted in accordance with them, they are of no advantage to him. Or, if he has a burning thirst and is ill of a fever, he must attack it with the appropriate medicines. And the argument is clinched by a reference to the Koran, where we read, "Verily man has only what he labors for (*sa'ā*), liii: 40.

In connection with this argument from the Koran, Ghazali calls up the five articles of the Moslem creed, One God, and Mohammed his prophet; prayer; alms; the fast of Ramadan; the pilgrimage to Mecca.[10] But what is belief? He answers, "Belief consists in the con-

8 The word *madhāq* here seems to mean the whole faculty of feeling, and corresponds rather closely to the "sensibility" in the modern division of the faculties of the soul into intellect, sensibility and will. It originally means the physical taste, is then transferred (in the form *dhauq*) to indicate any peculiarly delicate mental perception, as taste in language (Lane), and finally the mass of feelings, as here, or experience in the sense of knowledge of anything gained personally by direct contact with the facts. An example of this last meaning may be found in the present paper in the discussions of Sect. 16 (see p. 385 below). It may be remarked that Asa Burton, in propounding the threefold division of the faculties of the soul ("Essays," Portland, 1824, p. 53) made use of the word taste to designate the sensibility.

9 Reading *manāṣib* with the Constantinople text.

10 Not a quotation from any one place in the Koran; but similar collocations may be found at ii:1–3, more fully ii:176. Ramadan is mentioned in the Koran only at ii:181.

fession [of this creed] with the tongue, and its confirmation by the intellect, and the performing of the elements [of the law]." It may be said that one enters Paradise solely by faith; but he is confronted ere he arrives there by many steep [11] ascents, the first of which is faith itself. But does that alone save him from being denied? [12] Could he conceivably push himself into Heaven by faith alone, he would then be adjudged bankrupt. And, though the man of faith will abandon all thought of a recompense for good works, he will not abandon the works themselves. Ghazali might well have adopted the sentiment of James, "Show me thy faith without thy works, and I will show thee my faith by my works." These positions Ghazali reenforces by abundant quotations from the Koran and venerated writers.

Yet it is not the intention of Ghazali to ignore the hard work and large acquirements of his pupil. "How many nights," he writes, "hast thou kept watch, reviewing thine acquirements and studying books, and hast forbidden sleep to thy soul? I do not know the cause. But if thy purpose was to gain what the world seeks and thou wast attracted by its baubles, desiring office and distinctions above thy fellows and equals, then woe to thee, and again woe! But if thy purpose was the revivification of the laws of the Prophet and the development of thy character and the conquest of the evil of thy soul, then blessings be unto thee, and again blessings!"

And, finally, after various and eloquent enlargement of these thoughts, Ghazali closes this part of his discussion with words which lead him naturally to the next point—"Knowledge without good works is madness, and good works without knowledge are not good works. Know that no knowledge can keep thee from sin for a day, nor bring thee to obedience, nor deliver thee on the day of judgment from the fire of Hell."

Ghazali has up to this point made constant use of the Koran, and has depended upon its authority largely for

11 Cf. Koran xc: 11 ff.
12 Cf. Matt. 10: 33.

the proof of his positions. But the purely religious value of knowledge, while not neglected, has not been especially emphasized. He becomes more earnest as he proceeds and more devoted to detail. And at the point at which we have now arrived, this deep concern for the religious interests of his pupil bursts forth. "Pay heed," he says, "to the soul, visit discomfiture upon the desires, and view the body as destined to death, for thy dwelling is the grave and the dead have their eyes upon thee at every instant until thou comest to them. Beware of coming to them without a *viaticum!*" With various quotations he presses home this thought. Think whether thou art body or soul! Be not of those who neither see nor hear nor understand, but are "cattle."[13] Realize, as Hasan of Basra did, the unquenchable fires of Hell.

He thus passes naturally to the subject of prayer, repeating, with some additions, the regulations of the Koran in regard to it.[14] But his treatment of the topic does not rise at this point above the level reached in the Koran, which does not emphasize the element of personal communion with God in prayer. For this we must look to a later portion of the tract.

Summarizing, now, all that he has previously said, he declares that the very object of knowledge is that the pupil may become a teacher of obedience and service. But what are obedience and service? Ghazali's answer is, Following the law, i. e., imitation of the Law-giver. "Everything thou dost or leavest undone" should be a following. It is, he seems to imply, involved in the very word Islam, which is "surrender," and ought to be so self-evident to every Moslem, that he does not authenticate it by any quotations.[15] He wishes, however, to hold the Moslem strictly to the Koran as the standard of religious life. "Speaking and doing should agree with the law." "Knowledge and doing, without imitating the Law-giver are error." And, although he is going on soon to recommend Sufism, he now mentions it for the first

13 K. vii: 178.
14 K. xvii: 80, 81; lxxiii: 20; especially lxxvi: 25f.
15 Sects. 15, 16.

time, and does this to warn against the enthusiasms and exaggerations and folly of the Sufis. The "path"[16] is that of "waging war[17] and cutting off the desires of the soul and killing its passions with the sword of discipline." It is easy to profess, but the heart (i. e., the intellect) is bad and may remain so. "Until thou killest the passions of the soul, thy heart will not give thee the illuminations of intelligence."

But there are questions which the intellect can never answer.[18] Until one comes into this position of moral victory he cannot know their answer; but if he attains this, he shall know what they are, and understand the meaning of things formerly unintelligible because they are matters of taste.[19] Such matters cannot be intellectually comprehended or described by speech.

It is therefore necessary to know how the moral victory is to be attained. The progress of the seeker is like that of a traveler, for he is, in fact, on the way (*sabīl*) of the truth. Four things are necessary to him.

(1) Strong faith, unmingled with heresy (*bid'ah*).
(2) Sincere repentance, which will not revert to transgression.
(3) Satisfaction of enemies until they have no just claim against you.[20]
(4) Acquirement of a knowledge of the law, as far as that by which the commandments of God, the Highest, are fulfilled. Then from the other sciences to acquire that in which there is deliverance and progress. Beyond this there is no necessity of going.

To define the meaning of the last sentence, Ghazali introduces a story. "It is related of Shubali,[21] that he said, 'I have served four hundred Masters and read four thousand traditions. Then I selected from them one tradition, according to which I have conducted myself, and

16 *Tarīq*, cf. K. xlvi: 29. Cf. Becker, *"Islam-Studien,"* p. 363.
17 I follow the Constantinople text.
18 Cf. Bergson, "Creative Evolution" (Am. Trans.) p. 165.
19 Or, experience. Cf. the fuller treatment above, p. 382.
20 Cf. Matt. v: 24.
21 Famous Sheikh of Baghdad (H-P).

put the others aside. For I reflected and found my salvation and my deliverance in it. The wisdom of the ancients and moderns was all wrapped up in it, and I was satisfied with it. It was this that the Apostle (Mohammed) said to one of his companions, "Conduct thyself in respect to the present world according to thy place in it; and conduct thyself in respect to the world to come according to the duration of thine abode in it; and conduct thyself towards thy Lord according to thy need of him; and conduct thyself in respect to the fire of Hell according to thy power of enduring it." '

"If thou conduct thyself, my child," he goes on, "according to this tradition, thou will not need large knowledge." And then, to exhibit the true benefits of knowledge, he recites the eight benefits which a certain Hatim told a Teacher he had received from his instruction. The *first* was that he had found that no friend could go with one farther than to the brink of the grave; but he needed one who could enter the grave with him and cheer him in it, and the only such friend was good works. The *second* was that, seeing men rushing to the gratification of their desires, he meditated upon the word of the Koran which promises Paradise as the reward of him who does not follow his desires, and he girded himself to war upon them till he had diverted himself from them, and broken his soul in, to obedience to God. The *third,* that the sight of men occupied in gathering the good things of this world to themselves led him to meditation upon the word of the Koran: "All that is with you passes away, but that which is with God abideth" (xvi: 98). Then he changed the goal of his efforts from this world to the face of God,[22] and divided his possessions among the poor, that there might be an abundance of good works with God. The *fourth* was that he saw that some men thought that nobility and honor arose from the multitude of people and tribes; others, from great quantity of possessions and multitude of children; some, in snatching away the wealth

22 See Foster's "Brief Commentary," p. 51.

of men, abusing them and shedding their blood; some, in destroying wealth and stealing and squandering it; and he meditated on the word of God: "The most honored of you with God is he who fears God the most" (xlix: 13). And he believed that the Koran was perfectly true, and that the illusions and imaginations of these men were unreal and transitory. The *fifth* was that he perceived that accusations and slanders arose from envy of wealth and position and learning; and he meditated upon the word of God: "It is we who distribute their subsistence among them in this world's life," (xliii: 31), and perceived that the distribution was by God in eternity, and he envied no man. The *sixth* was that he saw men hostile towards one another for various reasons; and meditated on the word of God: "Satan is an enemy to you. Wherefore take him for an enemy" (xxxv: 6). He learned that no one should think enmity lawful, except with Satan.[23] The *seventh* was that he saw that men, in their struggles to gain their living, fell into doubt, and illicit courses, and into error of soul, and so lost much of their true worth; and he meditated on the word of God: "There is no moving thing which does not depend upon God for its food" (xi: 8); and he learned that he too depended upon God, and he labored in his service and cut off his greediness for whatever is not God. The *eighth* was that he saw that all men put their trust in some created thing, some in money and wealth, some in power, some in their daily occupation and handicraft, others in some creature like themselves; and he meditated on the word of God: "To him who puts his trust in God, God is his sufficiency. Verily God accomplishes his purpose, and God hath given to everything its destiny" (lxv: 3; xxxix: 37). He put his trust in God and found in him his sufficiency, for God hath mercy on him who trusts in him.

These are the eight benefits Hatim received from the instruction of his teacher. Ghazali adds his commendation, speaking in the character of that teacher, "I have

23 Matt. 5: 44.

looked into the Law, the Psalms, the Gospel, and the Koran, and I have found that the four books revolve about these eight benefits. He who conducts himself according to them is one conducting himself according to these four books."

Ghazali has now established the following positions. He has shown that "knowledge," or faith, without works is nothing. The profession of Islam, that is, submission to the will of God, secures the forgiveness of sins, but it does not entitle one to the rewards of Paradise. The true life of the Moslem is therefore a God-directed life, or essentially a life of prayer. The man who really profits by right instruction acquires self-mastery, makes God his goal, discards the love of the world and envy of others, is at peace with all men, looks to God for all his needs, and finds in Him his sufficiency. Thus the whole argument hitherto has been directed to the exhibition of the necessity to salvation of a spiritual "experience of religion." Assuming that his pupil has profited by what he has set forth, he is now ready to recommend the essential elements of Sufism, its extravagances aside, and proceeds to do this in the following pages.

The first necessity to one who would pursue the "path of the truth," is a Master who shall instruct and guide him, in order that evil qualities may be corrected and the character made beautiful. His work is like that of the peasant, who uproots the thorns, and weeds out the tares from between the standing corn, that he may strengthen the plants and bring the harvest to perfection. For when Mohammed bade farewell to the world, God sent successors in his place to guide the people to himself. The qualifications of such a Master are that he should be a scholar—not that every scholar is suitable for this particular work. The fit scholar and guide is one who turns away from the love of this world and the love of power, and, following a person of insight,[24] chains[25] those who

[24] That is, himself having been taught by a competent person.
[25] Cf. Tennyson's "Bound by gold chains about the feet of God."

follow him to the Lord of the Apostles;[26] who knows how to discipline his desires by little food and sleep and speech, by much prayer, almsgiving and fasting; who is a follower of his own profound Master in setting before himself beautiful qualities of soul as his aim in life, such as patience, gratitude, trust, certainty, generosity, contentment, tranquillity of soul, gentleness, humility, knowledge, truth, modesty, fidelity to obligations, dignity, repose, carefulness and the like. And when he receives a light from the lights of the Prophet, it is well to follow him. But such a one is exceedingly rare; and when he is found his pupil must give him all honor.[27]

After some specific directions as to how the pupil shall conduct himself towards such a Master, upon which it is not necessary to linger, Ghazali goes on to describe the things necessary to become a Sufi, that is, a true Sufi, without the extravagances of much existing Sufism, which he has already repudiated, or, as we might put it, to obtain a genuine experience of the presence of God.[28] He who has uprightness before God and composure before men, treating them with gentleness and doing them good, is a Sufi. Serving God consists in keeping his commands, submission to his will, and preferring what pleases him to one's own desires. Trust in God means firm belief in his promises, belief that what he has decreed for one will come to pass, though the soul and all the world contend against it. And sincerity is "that all thine actions should be God's, that thy heart should not be refreshed by the praise of men, and that thou shouldst not be grieved by their blame." Hypocrisy arises from prizing men, and the power they exercise, too highly. One should not regard the mocking gestures by which they parade their claim to power, but think of them as being as powerless as stones.

Ghazali now supposes his pupil to have attained a

26 Literally "the two apostles." Could this possibly mean Mohammed and Jesus? Or is the dual (found in both H-P and Ist.) an error? Or is it a loose quotation of xx: 49?

27 Compare with this whole catalogue of virtues, corresponding N. T. passages, Gal. 5: 22–25; Eph. 4, 5, 6; Col. 3 and 4.

28 See The Moslem World, 1933, p. 16ff.

real experience of God and to have become a Sufi, and that he wishes to assume the office of guide and preacher himself. The ethical precepts from this point are more minute and detailed, and seem even more modern and applicable to our time than what has preceded. In fact, pages of the remainder of the tract might be used *verbatim* as a homiletical lecture in an American School of Theology.

He begins with things to be avoided. Of these the first is disputation. The Arabs seem to have been fond of arguing, and we find Mohammed reproving them in regard to it in a large number of passages.[29] Ghazali is emphatic against it. He would have it entirely avoided. "The sin is greater than the profit. It is a fountain of every blameworthy quality, hypocrisy, envy, arrogance, malice, enmity, boasting and others." Yet if there is a sincere desire to learn the truth, a discussion is allowable. It may be known that such a desire exists when neither party seeks victory as such, and each prefers privacy in discussion to publicity.

The propounding of questions about doubtful matters is like bringing disease of the heart to the physician. His diagnosis is only a first step towards the healing of the disease, not the healing itself. Now, the ignorant are sick in the heart [here, the intellect], and the learned are the physicians. The wise physician does not treat every patient, but only those in whose case he expects reaction to remedies and a cure. So with the ignorant. Those who may be expected to react to treatment are those who possess knowledge, intellect and understanding. They are not overpowered by envy and anger and love of station, and by wealth and the passions. They seek the right path, and their questions, and possible indocility, do not spring from envy and perversity, or the attitude of experimentation, or the spirit of controversy. With such it is not merely lawful to engage in the answer to their questions, but it is a duty to do so. But those who present

[29] E.g., iii: 59; vi: 80; xlii: 15.

questions because of discomfort, or antipathy, or envy, or who are stupid, studying the sciences but never understanding them, or who from a sense of their own inferiority fail to gain anything certain to their own apprehension, are the incurable, whom "it is not necessary to spend labor in answering."

Another thing to be avoided is becoming a preacher before gaining an established character for consistency of conduct. Failure in this quality would be a calamity. Perhaps it would be better not to preach. But if one is determined [30] to be a preacher, then there are two things to be avoided, of which the first is what would be called today sensationalism, which Ghazali describes as "straining after striking forms of expression, allusions, orotundity and the use of poetry." God hates such preachers. Such straining after effect indicates the ruin of the inner man, and the neglect of the intellect. In other words, Ghazali regards it as a spiritual and moral failure, and as one who "reintroduced the element of fear" in religion; he seeks to remedy this by exhorting to meditation on one's past life, and on death and the resurrection and the possibility of escaping Hell. Preaching should be a "reminder" of these things, instructing the people in them, warning them about what they neglect or prefer, and causing them to perceive the vices of their souls, so that the assembly of the people may feel the heat of the fires of Hell, and be distressed by the prospect of such disasters, and make their past lives good, and mourn over their disobedience to God. Affectations are as much out of place as they would be, when a man's house was in danger of being washed away by a flood, in warning him to flee for his life.

The preacher should also beware of anxiety that he should have crowded assemblies, and that they should give expression to their emotions, and rend their garments, and say, "How delightful the assembly today!" This all comes from an inclination towards the world.

30 On Ghazali's own hesitancy about preaching, see Macdonald, "Life," p. 102.

"Nay!" Ghazali goes on to say, "it is necessary rather to have the resolution and purpose to call men from the present world to that which is to come, and from rebellion to obedience, and from cupidity to the religious life, and from avarice to liberality, and from doubt to certainty, and from indifference to watchfulness, and from vanities to the fear of God; and to make the future world clear to them, and the present hateful; and to teach them the forms of worship and asceticism; and to avoid deceiving them regarding the magnanimity and compassion of God, the mighty and exalted. For the prevailing element in their character is deviation from the path of the law and striving for what does not please God, and busying themselves according to their evil dispositions. Wherefore inquire into what sort of a thing is in their hearts, and to what sort of a thing they turn, examine into their circumstances and doings, what things they conquer and by what they are conquered; and every person whom fear has overcome, inspire with hope; and every man who hopes without reason, call back to fear. At times hope has gained the upper hand in their hearts, so that they have surrendered themselves to a feeling of security and to illusion. Wherefore cast terror into their hearts, and frighten them, and fill them with fear of what impends from Him who inspires fear. Perhaps their inner being will be changed and their outward dealings altered. Thou shouldst overcome their cupidity and greed by inculcating obedience to God which they neglect; and they should return from their rebellion, in which they manifest their audacity. This is the way of sermon and counsel; and all preaching which is not such is dangerous to him who speaks and to him who hears."

Again, the preacher must avoid princes, and have no association with them; or, at least, if compelled to maintain such association, he must avoid praising them, for it is displeasing to God. He must accept no gift from them, for desire of these corrupts religion. Hence arise flattery and undue consideration for them, and acquiescence in

their injustice, even against the servants of God, and all of this is the corruption of religion. Nor can he justify acceptance of their gifts on the plea that he intends to expend in charity what, if he refuses it, will be wasted on vice and disobedience to God.

These are the four things to be avoided. There are also four things which the preacher must *do*. He must conduct himself towards God as he would expect a faithful servant to behave towards himself. Again, he must act towards others "as pleases thy (his) soul from them," that is, as he "would that men should do" to him (Matt. vii: 12); and his faith is not "perfect until he loves other men as he loves himself." Moreover, when he should read or study science, it must be a science which benefits the heart and purifies the soul, as if he knew that his life might not last a week. He should not busy himself with the science of law, or polemics, or philosophy, or metaphysics, or the like, since they would not profit him; but he should busy himself with the contemplation of the heart, and the knowledge of the stony hardness of the soul, and the banishing of the love of the world. And finally, the preacher should be simple in the conduct of his household affairs, as was the prophet.

Ghazali has now concluded the instruction which he set out to give his pupil. One request, however, he has not answered. His reply to that I add, in a somewhat closer translation of his closing section.

"Behold, I have written in this tract thy requests; and it is necessary for thee that thou doest what is in it. Do not forget me so as not to remember me in thy prayers. As regards the prayer which thou didst ask of me, accept this, one of the most approved prayers, and read this prayer at thine appointed times, especially at the close of thy [five prescribed] prayers, saying: 'O God, I ask of favor its perfection, and of virtue its continuance, and of compassion its inclusiveness, and of forgiveness its extension, and of food its abundance, of life the most fortunate, of pleasant things the most complete, of cattle the finest,

of grace the sweetest, of graciousness the most helpful. O God, be for us and not against us! O God, put thy seal of blessing upon the successive periods of our life, and confirm our hopes by prosperity, and confer prosperity upon our mornings and our evenings, and take into thy mercy our going out and our coming in. Pour out the reservoirs of thy forgiveness upon our sins, and grant unto us soundness from our faults, and give us the fear of God for our *viaticum*. In thy religion do we fight, and in thee is our trust and our support. Establish us upon the path of righteousness, and protect us in this world from causes of repentance at the day of resurrection. Make light to us the weight of our sins, and feed us with the food of the righteous. Defend us, and turn away from us the evil of slander. Free our necks and the necks of our fathers and our mothers and our children and our friends from the punishment of the grave and from the fires of Hell in thy compassion, O most compassionate of the compassionating.' "

And now to gather these things together, we see that Ghazali is concerned, like Mohammed himself,[31] that the condition prescribed for becoming a Moslem should not be superficially understood or imperfectly performed. It is absolute surrender to God; but this, which remains, in general, in the Koran impersonal,[32] leading to none of that communion with God which is the central feature of true religion, is developed in Ghazali to a trust in God as provider and support, as our goal and sufficiency, and at last, for those who will enter upon the path of Sufism, to a consciousness of God's presence, which approximates closely to that of John xvii: 3. In the commendation of this purified Sufism lies the chief religious service of the book.

Particulars closely related to this extend and define Ghazali's position. (1) Belief is no mere mechanical recitation of the creed, but embraces an intellectual element and produces obedience to God and good works.

31 Cf. Foster's "Commentary," p. 28, ff.
32 *Ibid.* pp. 51, 52, 60, 61.

God is a law-giver, and hence submission (Islām) to him is essentially an acceptance of the law, from which develops a long line of virtues. (2) The importance of the soul is therefore emphasized, and self-discipline variously recommended. The desires of the body [33] are to be fought with the sword of discipline, including self-denial in regard to food, sleep, speech; involving much prayer, almsgiving, etc. It is the ideal, the instinctive, the growing purity of the soul that is to be recognized and cultivated. (3) The criteria of good conduct which he sets up require a complete abstraction from self and concentration on the spiritual interests of the soul.

Ghazali extends the catalogue of virtues in his treatment of the ideal guide for the inquirer, to embrace a wide variety. It need not be repeated here, for it cannot have escaped the notice of the reader, or failed to excite his wonder. He cannot be accused of neglecting the more positive virtues, but his catalogue emphasizes the milder virtues, as does the Sermon on the Mount. Patience, contentment, gentleness, humility, modesty, tranquillity—the virtues which the Christian would enumerate if he were describing a saint—fill out the image of the perfect Master. If these things are involved, and to a degree expressed in the Koran, the tract develops them as the Koran did not.

Scattered, however, through all these discussions of virtues, runs a description and condemnation of sins. The keenness of Ghazali's analysis of ethical matters appears here more clearly, perhaps, than elsewhere. He refers such sins as censoriousness and slander to envy, which he variously designates as the cause of other sins. Hypocrisy he refers to excessive estimate of the power of men. From an exaggerated estimate of the importance of this world he derives the boasting of the purse-proud, greed, injustice, and even murder. A disputatious temper leads to hypocrisy, envy, arrogance, malice, etc. He traces the effects of sensationalism on "the inner man."

[33] Cf. Gal. v: 7.

It is remarkable that no condemnation of licentiousness is anywhere to be found in this book. In fact, sex is not alluded to, except in one passage where it is only incidentally involved. Flattery is condemned and referred to the formation of too intimate associations with the great.

But the crowning point of the whole ethical system, as it is sketched in the New Testament, viz., love, is reached by Ghazali (although he does not see the full implications of the principle), when he demands that the Sufi conduct himself towards others as he likes to have them conduct themselves towards him (Matt. vii: 12), thus repeating the Golden Rule of the gospel. He may have actually derived it from the gospel, for he asserts in one passage (p. 388 above) that he is acquainted with the "Gospel." And he goes on to say that "the faith of the servant towards God *is not perfect until he loves other men as he loves himself,* thus repeating the "second commandment of the law" (Matt. xxii: 39). Ghazali, like Ritschl,[34] abhors metaphysics. Had he laid more emphasis upon rationalization, he might have seen the light with which this principle illuminates the whole system of ethics [35] and theology. He might then have carried the ethics of Islam to a further point, but he did not. He left it unsystematized and undeveloped, as the Koran leaves it.[36]

Oberlin, Ohio. FRANK HUGH FOSTER.

34 Cf. Macdonald's Life, p. 120.
35 Cf. Jonathan Edwards' "Nature of True Virtue."
36 Cf. "Commentary," p. 72.

AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY LITERARY MISSIONARY TO MOSLEMS

The earliest portion of the Bible to be printed in Arabic was the Psalter. This was in 1516, and it appeared as a Polyglott along with Hebrew, Greek and Chaldean. Forty-one years later appeared the famous London Polyglott, edited by Dr. Brian Walton, and in this, Arabic was one of the "ancient versions." This was the last of the big Polyglotts; and so far as Arabic was concerned, was a revision of the Paris Polyglott, which had appeared in ten volumes between 1625 and 1645. This was the third of the Polyglotts, and Arabic was added for the first time.

Fourteen years after the London Polyglott, another edition of the whole Bible in Arabic was issued side by side with the Latin Vulgate, and this eventually found acceptance with Arabic-speaking Christians. This was edited in Rome by the Maronite Archbishop of Damascus, who took thither with him for his editorial work several MSS. of the Scriptures in Arabic. This was followed by the Aleppo Psalter, which ran through several editions, being used for the services of the Melchite Church, between 1706 and 1820. This was printed first at Padua and later at the Shuwair Press in Mount Lebanon. This Aleppo effort gave birth in 1725 and 1727 to an edition of the Psalms and the New Testament, edited by Suleiman Ibn Ya'qub as-Salihani, a Damascene, who at one time was Professor of Syriac and Arabic at Rome. The New Testament edited by the same man was sent from Aleppo to the S.P.C.K. by Mr. Sherman; and several thousands of copies were printed both of the Psalter and of the New Testament.

By the first quarter of the eighteenth century, therefore,

there would seem to have been three main efforts to print the Arabic New Testament. The first was from the west through the Paris and London Polyglotts (these actually took in the whole Bible); secondly, from Rome, but the work of an eastern scholar who came west from his work in Damascus for the purpose; and, thirdly, from Aleppo, but with the work again in the hands of a scholar connected with Damascus, the cost of the edition being largely borne by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. The first effort may have been largely scholastic and academic, but it was the labor of definitely Protestant theologians which produced these great polyglotts. This would seem to have been countered by the edition brought out by permission of the Pope, Urban V; and being printed in parallel columns with the Vulgate, had naturally a Roman Catholic bent. Then, so far as the financing of the third was concerned, it was brought about by money raised by an English society, the King, George I, making a donation of £500, the total expenses running into nearly three thousand pounds. This edition, moreover, was for the use of the Oriental Christians, who were members of the Greek Church (as we would say Orthodox) as opposed to those who, belonging to the Maronite Church, owed allegiance to Rome.

Was nothing done for the Moslems? The answer is Yes, though it was only a beginning, and was the work of a German Scholar, Dr. John Henry Callenberg, Professor in the University of Halle, where the books were printed. We say books, for these were four in number, the Gospel according to St. Matthew, the epistles to the Romans and Hebrews, and the Acts of the Apostles. It is not quite clear why Dr. Callenberg selected these four books as the first of the Christian Scriptures to be given in printed form to the Moslem world, but likely he felt a special aptness in the appeal to prophecy, history, dialectic and the person of Christ Himself. We are not left in the dark, however, either as to his interest in the Moslem question or to his desire to give the New Testament to the

Moslems. Prior to his rescension of the four New Testament books, he had published, as we shall see later, quite a little series of pamphlets in a literary evangelization scheme in which he sought to interest others as well as himself.

Dr. Callenberg very fortunately wrote a preface to his edition of St. Matthew, which is interestingly described to start with as *Fatihat ul-Injil*. In this he makes some instructive observations. After stating that he had promised at one time to attempt a translation of the Old Testament into Arabic, he adds that he was omitting the New for the time being, "since the English had offered me as many copies of their edition as I could find opportunity for distribution to the Moslems." This was presumably the version superintended by Suleiman as-Salihani, to which reference has already been made. Certain reasons arose, however, which led Dr. Callenberg to a change of plan. He accordingly continues in his preface that, in the first place, he did not feel that the existent Arabic versions were quite sufficiently accurate gramatically, since, as we have seen, such books were intended for the consumption of orthodox Arabic-speaking Christians, and Dr. Callenberg wanted to reach as wide a Moslem circle as possible, including those who read but did not speak Arabic; and he hesitated to put before them books that were insufficiently vowelled. Here he had Indian Moslems chiefly in view. Then, secondly, the Professor was glad to find "many young men" (though fewer than in the preceding generation) "on fire with the desire to learn Arabic." He adds the opinion of another scholar that there was no more convenient way of learning a language and no way of making swifter progress in it than to read the New Testament in the language which is the subject of one's study. Hence the double cause that spurred him on to hammer out another Arabic New Testament.

Before leaving his New Testament work, it is perhaps interesting to notice that Dr. Callenberg does not question the Pauline authorship of Hebrews, after which statement the epistle at once begins. This is otherwise with Romans, which was edited in 1714, the year before Hebrews. In

this case there is the following ascription, as something corresponding to the *Bismillah*:—

"In the Name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, the One God: We begin with the help of God Most High and with His best direction we conclude the epistle of the most honoured saint, Paul the Apostle."

Then comes rather astonishingly:—"The *first* epistle of Paul to the people of Rome." But that is not the end of the tale, for in forty-four places the text in Romans is punctuated with statements that the following verses are read on specific occasions in the ecclesiastical calendar, for the days that chiefly follow Pentecost, though there are references to the "lessons" proper to Good Friday, Easter Eve, St. John the Baptist's Day and that of the Martyr, Trypho of Phrygia.

The publication of these New Testament books by no means exhausts Dr. Callenberg's literary output to the Moslem world. Among other works germane to our subject of the literary mission to Islam, we find that in 1729 he got out a first primer in Arabic, expressly for use among his own students. In this he follows the Hebrew example and adopts *Qatal* as the paradigm root, rather than *Fa'al*. And as a companion to this he issued, or rather reissued, four *colloquial* conversations already in use in his "school" at Halle, which had been the work of Suleiman as-Salihani, and which are presumably in the Damascene dialect of the early eighteenth century. Perhaps this contention is supported by the internal evidence of the use of *qawi* and *malih* in juxtaposition; while the writer is also careful to insert a *"ba"* before the *mudari'*, spelling the first person singular without an *alif*. Naturally no *tanwinat* occur and only the dual in nouns and participles used nominally. The most frequent vowel sound seems to have been a *domma*. He uses *Hadith, Mukalamat* and *Muqalat* for specimen conversations between friends and relatives. It is indeed interesting to find this small help *vis à vis* the presentation of the Gospel towards the "getting" of colloquial (*idiomatis vulgaris*) over two hundred years ago. Dr.

Callenberg at least believed in making Arabic a living tongue to the would-be student from the first. But he was out not only for training in linguistics but in Islamics too. In what he calls *"Miscellanea res Muhammedicas complectentia"* (1745) he gives in his first chapter a list of writers (to date) on the Mohammedan religion or to Mohammedans on religion. Thus he mentions that in the eighth century there was a certain Theodore Abucaras; and three hundred years later Samonas, Bishop of Gaza, who discussed for Moslems *"veritatem corporis et sanguinis Christi in sacramento eucharistiae exhibiti!"* In the twelfth century he mentions a letter written at the instance of the then Pope, Alexander III, by one, Petrus Blesensis, to the Prince of Iconium. (Dr. Callenberg himself later edited the letter sent by John, Archpresbyter of Alexandria to Ernest, Prince of Saxony, so that history repeated itself, only in the second instance the recipient was a Christian prince). In the remainder of the chapter we come to better-known names, Thomas Aquinas, Raymund Lull, Richardus Florentinus. So does Dr. Callenberg trace the literary efforts in this direction right up to his own time in the early eighteenth century. In chapter three he lists the various points in *Din* and *Iman*, which appear in various Moslem religious books; while in chapter four he makes certain observations on the Arabic and Persian languages. In the second chapter of the *"Miscellanea"* Dr. Callenberg calls attention to certain Arabic publications of which he either knew or had seen copies. These include a treatise on medicine; certain Pauline letters; a New Testament, said to have been translated into Arabic by John, Episcopus Hispalensis; a copy of the prophet Obadiah, in Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic with rabbinic commentary; and perhaps most interesting of all, *"Christianae religioni opposita scripta Muhammedis filii ABY TALIBI (?) epistola Arabica ad episcopum ecclesiae Cypriae,"* which was said to be extant *"in bibliotheca ultrajectina."*

One further booklet along this line of Islamica is worthy of mention. That also was published "scholae

suae" in 1729, and consisted in a collation of Quranic excerpts dealing with Abraham, Dr. Callenberg wanting to show that Mohammed, "among other borrowings from the vehicle of the old and the new covenant, in particular interwove small portions of the sacred history with his own fancies, but in a disgracefully perverted form." The Professor opined that the founder of Islam indulged in this introduction of biblical matter, because he hoped that others would be "persuaded by the names that he had received these stories from God." Hence in order to give an example of this sort of corruption "to those whom I am instructing in the Arabic language, I have gathered together what this impostor said about Abraham and have set it in type." Dr. Callenberg further hoped that by this and similar publications all who read them would be induced to "pray to God with greater zeal that He will restore the light of truth to a nation so punished with falsehoods." This would be sufficient reward for his labors in this direction.

But yet the tale unfolds. In 1726 Dr. Callenberg published "chiefly from the compendium of Mohammedan Law by Abu al-Laith as-Samarqandi, entitled *Khazanat ul-Fiqh,"* a digest, for the information of the west, of particular Moslem regulations *circa Christianos.*

This was followed after an interval of three years by a "colloquial" edition of Luther's shorter catechism, which had already been rendered into Arabic by Suleiman as-Salihani. This translation however was apparently too "high brow," and Dr. Callenberg *"in usum certae gentis Muhammedanae vulgavit!"* It is a pity that we do not know which nation, but here is someone "colloquialising" two hundred years ahead of Sir William Wilcocks.

In 1731 Callenberg put two books through the press. He reissued Pocock's translation of Hugo de Groot's *"De veritate religionis Christianae,"* Book 6, under the rather daring title of *Al Muqalat fi ibtal il-Islam,* and for the use of Moslems. During the same year he translated himself the *Via Salutis* of J. A. Freilinghausen, and gave it to the

Moslem world under the title of *Tariq ul-Khalas.* The previous year he had also put through another edition of August Hermann Francke's *Prima Doctrina Christianae elementa,* entitling it, *Fatihat at-Ta'lim an-Nasrani* for use among "certain Moslem nations." Then in 1735 he turned his attention to the Jews with another edition of Pocock's translation of Hugo de Groot's *De Veritate Religionis Christianae,* Book 5, thus having a companion volume to his 1731 treatise, only this time it was destined for use among Oriental Jews, but still in Arabic. Three years later again Callenberg reissued the third book of Thomas à Kempis' "Imitation of Christ," which had been translated by Thomas Haemmerlein after the edition by Coelestine. This was *"in Arabicum sermonem,"* and ran to two hundred and sixteen pages.

It was not till after these endeavors to preach the Gospel along various lines by the printed page, controversial, doctrinal, devotional, instructional, that Dr. Callenberg devoted his attention, as we have seen, to the New Testament. Even then, however, he was not satisfied, for up till 1758 we find him editing or supervising the printing of books in Yiddish, Modern Greek, Dakhini or Western Hindi, (a "form of Urdu used by Mohammedans in the Deccan, and is spoken in Southern and Western India"), Persian, Syriac, and Nogai.

Perhaps this will give some idea of the extent of Dr. Callenberg's Literature Bureau. Most of his work was in the New Testament, chiefly the Gospels, though for the Moslems using Dakhini he supervised the printing of the Psalter, Daniel (including the apocryphal chapters) and the early chapters of Genesis. The main point is his interest in Islam, and the intense conviction that literature was a good missionary. Other lessons to be learned from his career will probably present themselves to those who have scanned the foregoing pages, and we will content ourselves with the quotation, *O si sic omnes.*[1]

Oxford, England ERIC F. F. BISHOP.

[1] (The above information has been obtained from the Catalogue of Printed Bibles of the British and Foreign Bible Society and certain works of Dr. Callenberg in the Bodleian).

CURRENT TOPICS

Notes from the Turkish Press

The following is an important article by Yunus Nadi, the well-known editor of the daily *Jumhuriyet* at Istanbul, regarding the American Institutions in Turkey. It is well worth careful study:

FOREIGN SCHOOLS IN TURKEY

Jumhuriyet, February 5, 1933.

"Our attitude regarding this question is definite: we have no objection to the continuation of the foreign schools or the opening of new ones provided they are not opposed to the secular principles of the Republic. We are inviting teachers from France for our *lycées* at Galatasarai. Without hesitation we recognize that the opening of a secular *lycée* where courses are offered in French will be a service to the country. Our conviction is the same with regard to schools that may be opened in English (British or American) or German languages. These special schools shall be controlled by the Ministry of Education, and follow to the letter the program prepared by it. Therefore, we cannot imagine any objection to the increase of such schools in our country.

"However, there is the question of the foreign schools in the country and this question is arising out of the activities of the present foreign schools.

"Once in a while it is reported that in a certain foreign school, children have been taught religion, or that there has been a desire to do so. People do not cease talking about similar incidents occasionally. Our new regimé believes that secularism is the most modern principle, therefore, no matter how much we favour the foreign schools, we can never stand any movement that disturbs this principle of the régime. While in our own schools we are so attentively applying the principles of secularism, naturally it would be impossible for us to allow religious propaganda by the foreigners. This aspect of the problem is not a school concern. It is the question of keeping secularism on a safe ground. We were thinking that those foreign schools which remained in Turkey would have the courtesy and obligation to respect this principle.

"As a matter of fact, however, these schools have decided to follow one of two alternatives: either to teach religion or to leave the country. We would ask them to stay, conform themselves to the laws, regulations and traditions of the country, and continue their work. We would make this request especially to the leading institutions, Robert College and Girls' College at Constantinople.

"The history of the American schools and other philanthropic

institutions in Turkey has been ambiguous in the past. Is it not surprising that a country like America, which is called the New World, and counted as one of the most progressive and democratic countries, should attach a religious character and purpose to its philanthropic institutions in Turkey? This is one of the things that is most puzzling to us.

"In the period of the Sultans in all parts of Turkey there were adherents of other religions than Islam. The Americans won converts to their religion of Protestantism from these non-Moslem elements. American benefactors must have thought of gaining the keys to paradise by the conversion of Armenians and Greeks to Protestantism! Among the documents discovered at the closed college of Merzifoun, there are evidences which indicate that these American missionaries have examined and studied the question of winning the Moslems to the Christian religion. These missionaries have seen that it is difficult to convert Moslems to Christianity, but not impossible! They have seen that the work will require long time and effort.

"Moreover, we are sorry to say that it is a historical fact that the education of the American institutions has played some part in the development of animosity between the Greeks and Armenians on the one hand, and the Turks on the other, which has led to such disastrous ends.

"Our aim in mentioning these things is simply to illuminate the path in the future.

"Robert College, the Girls' College, Smyrna College, in short all the American institutions in Turkey can carry on only by putting aside all these secret purposes and by working only for the purpose of pure education in a country whose policy is secularism.

"The administration of the two great American schools has lately been entrusted to Dr. Monroe, whose experience in knowledge, virtue, and scholarship is well known not only in America but the entire world. It is very desirable that these schools, with accelerated power under this respectable personality, should identify themselves with the new requirements of Turkey and follow a pure objective. We can expect this position from the great ability and virtue of Dr. Monroe.

"It is not our business to tell the way in which this position should be secured. In the first place this idea must be accepted, and secondly, the factors for the application of the idea must be willingly and sincerely put into practice. Naturally this requires the clearing up of the institutions from some elements whose mentality has been evident from the experience of the past.

"We are not setting forward these thoughts in favour of or in opposition to anyone. Perhaps our primary concern is the honour and peace of the American institutions of culture in Turkey; and our secondary interest, the advancement of relations between the Americans and the Turks."

DESIRE FOR STUDY IS GROWING

Jumhuriyet, January 3, 1933.

"The primary education curriculum of the ministry has been carried on with perfect success in Constantinople. So far as

primary education is concerned Constantinople has reached the standard which is to be desired for all other towns. While the number of the children of the primary schools was thirty thousand, as a result of great efforts the number has risen now to 58,000 in the Turkish schools only. When to this number is added those who attended foreign schools and minority schools also, it is estimated that the children in the primary schools constitute 10% of the population of the city.

"In the time of the Constitutional government only five primary school buildings had been built, whereas in the time of the Republican government 59 such school buildings have been constructed.

"It has been observed that many poor children are attending school from morning until noon, or from noon until evening, and selling papers during the rest of the time to earn their living.

"The municipality will open at Galata a home for the neglected children and in a few years all those children who are of primary school age living in Constantinople and spending their time in shops from morning until evening will be compelled to go to school by police force."

WHAT GAZI HAS DONE FOR CHILDHOOD

January 10, 1933

"During the last ten years the Turkish Association for the Protection of Children under the patronage of Gazi Pasha has served children in 480 centers of the country in the following ways:

It has taken 11,803 children under its care.
It has given milk to 72,475 children.
It has distributed shoes to 174,149 children.
It has bought caps for 7,385 children.
It has supplied 14,303 children with school articles.
149,137 children have been given medical treatment.
5,071 children have been helped in cash.
34,503 children have enjoyed baths.
263 children have been circumcized.
1,512 childbirths have been attended by midwives.
5,456 children have been located in schools and other institutions.
52,622 children have received help in various other ways. The total of those who have received aid one way or the other 600,580."

OUR LANGUAGE IS TURKISH, OUR RELIGION IS TURKISH

Jumhuriyet, January 2, 1933

According to the Pentateuch, Yahwe is the God of the children of Israel only. All the prophets of the children of Israel have thought in this way, and supported this cause.

"The great Mohammed did not apprehend God in the narrow Jewish way. That is why Allah is the Lord of all. And on this ground I doubt whether such a verse as, 'I sent you my commandments in Arabic so that you may understand them,' has originally come from Mohammed. Otherwise it would be necessary to admit that the Quran and Islam are for the Arabs only.

"I recognize Islam as the universal religion. On this ground I am convinced that the Quran must be translated into the languages

of those peoples who have accepted Islam but speak languages other than Arabic. Furthermore, the Turks who have bought their freedom at the cost of their blood must be free in moral and religious aspects also. Therefore they will be justified in expressing their religion in their own Turkish language and make their religion also Turkish."

Moslem Prayer in Turkish

We quote again from a recent issue of *Jumhuriyet*:

"In the new Turkey the people are free in their religious beliefs and worship. Only this must not disturb the peace of others. We want to say that worship is possible only when it is offered through an understandable language. This is a truth that should be asserted by men well versed in religion rather than by men like us. When a man does not speak what he understands, how can he worship in the presence of the great God? It is very clear that when men come into the presence of the great Mystery in all reverence and with human frailty, they can communicate the thoughts of their mind and the emotions of their heart only in a language that can be the interpreter of their soul; and only thus they can have performed a moral duty and experienced a spiritual joy.

"As the great mystic Jelal ed-Din Rumi said, 'By placing their head on the ground and raising up their tail in the air, they think they are worshipping God! Such worship is nothing but illusion.'

"When the Persian asked the greatest Imam of Islam (Abu Hanifa) whether worship with the Persian translation of the Quranic verses was permissible, he answered in the affirmative. He thus affirmed that it is possible to worship in the Persian language. Has not our own School in Islam accepted the principle of relying on the intellect in choosing the good and right? Our great scholars in religion know certainly the place which the Islamic canon law of Abu Hanifa gives to the intellect in discriminating between the beautiful and the ugly. To suspect the truth of worship offered in Turkish words is as absurd as to think that God does not understand our supplications presented to Him in Turkish. We believe that every nation must necessarily profess his religion in his own tongue.

"Religion is a social institution, and it wins influence by poetry, wisdom and art, which give expression and affirmation to high conceptions. And this can be done only in one's own language."

The Mohammedans of Mysore State:

AN OPEN DOOR IN THE CAPITAL CITY

Mysore State is one of the largest, wealthiest and most progressive of the native states of India. It has an area of some 30,000 square miles, and a population of about 6,550,000 (1931 Census). The people belong chiefly to the Hindu religion, and Kanarese is the official state language, used by about 4,500,000; Telugu (its sister language, used by about one million) and Tamil (300,000) are also extensively used in parts of the State. There is a considerable Mohammedan population, some 400,000, or 6% of the total, using the Urdu language, popularly called Hindustani. The influence

of this community is far greater than the small percentage would indicate, especially when one considers that the Diwan (prime minister) is a Mohammedan—Sir Mirza Ismael, prominent at the Round Table Conference, and Chairman of the important Committee on Indian States in connection with the new constitutional government that is being worked out at the present time. In 1921 the Mohammedan population of Mysore State was 340,000, and there has thus been an increase of 17% in the last ten years (13% for India as a whole). Of the present 400,000 about 75,000 are Sayyids (descendants of Mohammed through his daughter Fatimah); 225,000 Shaikhs (others of Arabic origin); 65,000 Moghuls and Pathans (Turkish or Afghan origin), and the balance of 35,000 are Pinjaris, Lubbais, etc. Although chiefly confined to the larger towns of 3,000 and upwards, the Mohammedans are scattered through all the eight districts of Mysore State, and some at least are found in all but the very smallest villages.

The two largest cities are Bangalore (306,000) in the eastern part of the State, and the capital, Mysore City (107,000) in the south. In Bangalore Cantonment there are 29,600 Mohammedans out of a total population of 134,000, or 21%, and in Bangalore City, the administrative centre of Mysore State and quite strongly Hindu, there are 20,000 Mohammedans out of 172,000 or 11.5%. At present there are over 30 mosques, 3 *'Id-gahs* (festival grounds), and about 20 Urdu primary and secondary schools in Bangalore Cantonment and City. The average literacy in Urdu of the Mohammedans of both sections of Bangalore is 28%, and the State average is 17%, which is somewhat higher than the figure for Mohammedan literacy elsewhere. There are hundreds of Moslem men graduates of the Mysore University, and so far four Moslem girls have graduated from the Maharani's College for Women, Mysore. The Mysore State Women's Federation, with Lady Ismael as Chairman, is very active and progressive, and has helped to place Mysore State in a leading place in matters of reform. The Mysore State Moslem Educational Conference is steadily pushing the matter of Urdu schools wherever the Mohammedans are found in considerable numbers, and the Mysore State Moslem Federation is very active in attempting to draw Mohammedans of the State together for political unity, and more effective propagation of Islam.

From the standpoint of Christian evangelization, Bangalore, owing to its situation, makes a good centre for the eastern part of the State, including the Bangalore, Kolar, Tumkur and Chitaldroog Districts, with a combined Mohammedan population of 255,000. However, Chitaldroog in the north (35,000) and most of Tumkur District (say another 35,000 out of the total 44,000 Mohammedans) are at rather long range for effective evangelistic work. Mysore, well to the south of the State, commands the following Districts: Mysore, Hassan, Kadur, and Shimoga, with a total Mohammedan population of 145,000. Here again, the Kadur and Shimoga Districts, totalling 60,000 Mohammedans, are too far north and west for really effective work from Mysore City, and eventually a centre in the northern part of the State may have to be opened up.

Evangelistic work among the Moslems was opened by the Ceylon and India General Mission in Bangalore early in 1930, and it now

appears to be the Lord's time to occupy the second strategic position in the State, Mysore City. There are about 18,000 Mohammedans there (17% of the population, with 24% literacy), located in four or five main *mohullas* (settlements) with half a dozen smaller ones. There are 9 or 10 mosques, the chief one, the Jama Masjid, on the Bangalore-Mysore Road, just inside the main gate to the city, being an unusually beautiful one. The Church of England Zenana Mission has had a continuous work among the Mohammedan women and girls of Mysore City for about 40 years. Owing to the necessity for retrenchment, this was officially closed March 31, 1932, although an honorary worker has taken a house near a large *mohulla,* and is continuing to visit the women. Except for an occasional case, however, the men have not been reached, and there is a wide opportunity for a married couple to settle down in Mysore and carry on a testimony for Christ to both the men and women. In March, 1931, the writer, and three Indian co-workers (converts from Islam) went to Mysore City for three days of meetings with the men, and we found much interest, and as usual, a certain amount of opposition. Besides Mysore City itself there are twelve towns mostly ranging from 2,500 to 7,000 population within forty miles, by good roads, containing a total of some 10,000 Mohammedans. The largest of these, Seringapatam (14,000, with 2,000 Mohammedans) is of historical interest in connection with the Third Mysore War (1798-9) with Hyder 'Ali and his Son Tippu Sultan, whose tombs are visited by large numbers every year.

In October, 1931, the C.E.Z. Mission offered to hand over their work to the C. & I. G. Mission, and since that time there has been much prayer for the clear guidance of the Lord in connection with this opportunity. There is no Hindustani Church, nor any Bible women, but there is a hearty welcome into scores of Mohammedan homes, a result of years of patient labor, and new ones are constantly opening up through the contacts already made. Mr. and Mrs. Douglas Nielson of New Zealand, who have been interested in work among Mohammedans for some years, arrived in Bangalore early in January, 1932, and have been studying Urdu, becoming acquainted with evangelistic literature available for Mohammedans, practical problems and methods of work, and getting their bearings generally.

Bangalore, S. India. N. F. Silsbee.

Hijaz Developments

Very interesting developments have just been announced with regard to the Hijaz. An agreement is reported to have been made between King Ibn Saoud and a group of Indian Moslems for the construction of a railway from Jidda to Mecca. Jidda, an open roadstead, is practically the only "port" of the Hijaz, and through it the bulk of the annual pilgrim traffic passes. When the railway is built—it is to be begun in November, and is expected to take two years—it will be possible for pilgrims to reach Mecca in comfort, and no doubt, provided that there is an improvement in world conditions, the immediate result of the opening of the line will be a great increase in the pilgrim traffic. Its influence on both imports and exports is also bound to be pronounced. It is also reported

that an agreement has been made for the establishment of a new State bank at Jidda, the capital for which, it is understood, is being found by the ex-Khedive.

A Christian Film in Meshed

Dr. H. A. Lichtwardt of Meshed, Persia, sends this interesting bit of news:

"During the month of Ramazan, the time of fasting, in this 'holy' month, in this fanatical Shrine city, the American film, 'The King of Kings' is being shown in the local cinema to huge crowds, which are at least 90% Mohammedans. It is definitely Christian, sympathetically and earnestly presented, and has created a great impression among the thinking people. There were many army officers there, and other officials and men of prominence. The Afghan Consul-General sat directly behind me, and during the entire film asked me numerous questions on details which he did not understand. The audience was respectful and attentive. Such pictures will have definite evangelistic results, especially as the sub-titles were direct scripture quotations, with book and verse stated."

Islam and Christianity

We welcome the following clear statement regarding the issue between Islam and Christianity from a historic standpoint. The Rev. Pierre Charles, S.J., writes in *Fishers of Men*:

"Much have we suffered in defending against the infidel—the Holy Church. Indeed, it is a curious paradox this invasion of Islam into the primitive world of Christianity, when the Church, thrust back into the West of Europe, fought a rear-guard-action for six long centuries to save her very existence. The Atlantic closed us in on the West; from Spain to the plains of Hungary, by Africa and the Islands, Greece and the Balkans, Islam hemmed us in. Impossible to evade the barrier to the North; impossible to pierce it; impossible before the days of Vasco da Gama to take the enemy in the rear by circumnavigation of the enormous African Continent. Because of it, great grief weighted down our Fathers, and the Pontiffs, one after the other, have sounded in the Church the rallying-call of the Crusades. I am touched with the tragic piety of those ancient prayers that we find in the missals of olden days 'against the prevailing force of the Turks': of those Masses that were offered for the frightened people, when the armies of Suliman or of Mahomet IV carried the green standard to the gates of Budapest and of Vienna. It is not yet two centuries and a half since the Turks left Austria. A hundred and fifty years ago the Janissaries were in the streets of Budapest, and those among us who were born at the time the Turk evacuated Belgrade are not yet sixty.

"Well may one say that for the Christian no more difficult and uphill task ever existed. What were our quarrels, our little wars, our puny political schemings, in the face of this disaster, when Christianity seemed doomed and was wellnigh engulfed by the overwhelming tide of Islam. Between the days of Charles Martel and the Victory of Poitiers and the time of Charles of Lorraine and

the Victory of Vienna six centuries passed. And during all this time, until our great navigators set forth on their adventures, the Far East, Africa, and America were inaccessible to our Evangelists. Islam has cost us eight centuries of delay in the work of our Asiatic missions, and ten or twelve centuries in our work for Africa. Today these countries remain in a state which causes us great anguish. The conqueror may lose, in a military sense, power and territory, but the religious influence still lives, tenacious, indestructible, overwhelming. We have put back the sword into its sheath, and we and the 'Saracens' look peacefully upon one another; yet in spite of ten centuries of close contact, we have not yet learned to understand one another. Against this power of Islam we stand powerless. We do not even know where lies the secret of their power, nor what are their methods of propaganda, how they pursue their aims. At times, as by a clap of thunder, we are awakened; we behold a sign. We are told that in ten years, from 1911 to 1921, Islam has gained in India some millions of fresh converts. And to think that during those ten years we have in the same region increased only by 100,000 the number of those we have baptized. Once more we see these disciples of the Prophet, a hundred against one, repeating in these distant lands the tale of our ancient disasters. They have invaded Malaya; they are in Africa; they are still to this day in Europe. They have established in India and Egypt centres of instruction. When shall *we* be able to convert *them?*

"For the glory of Thy name, O Lord, give us zeal, steadfast hearts, and souls which shall learn to love these old enemies of Christianity and make us understand how to soften their hearts. Islam, today so often conquered, has retained from its triumphs of old the pride of a great conqueror. The Christian religion is for them a despised religion, the religion of those who were for centuries their slaves. And what is gentle, peaceful, divinely human, scarcely touches these despisers of women, these despotic rulers."

Dr. Zwemer's Visit to China.

On the 26th of May, Dr. Zwemer sailed for China, and he had opportunities of speaking at San Francisco before he sailed. Also at Honolulu he addressed two meetings for the purpose of stimulating interest in evangelistic work among Mohammedans.

Rev. C. L. Pickens, of Hankow, China, who is Dr. Zwemer's son-in-law, is the secretary of the "Society of Friends of the Moslems in China," and he has made arrangements for conferences to be held in various parts of China, at which opportunities will be given for the discussion of methods of approach to the Moslems of China under present-day conditions. It is expected that Dr. Zwemer will be back in America before this issue is published.

BOOK REVIEWS

Les Origines des légendes musulmanes dans le Coran et dans les vies des Prophètes, par D. Sidersky. Paris, 1933. 8vo. viii+161. Geuthner. Price 100 francs.

One of the fundamental problems of modern Qur'anic scholarship is that of the investigation of source material. To even the most casual reader it is obvious that a great deal of the material that has been worked up into the Qur'ān was borrowed from Jewish and Christian sources. The chief figures who move through the pages of the Qur'ān, Adam, Noah, Abraham, Lot, Moses, David, Solomon, Job, Jesus, John, Gabriel, Satan, etc., are all familiar to readers of the Bible, and to the student, a very little further investigation shows that very many of the technical terms such as Taurah, Injīl, Firdaus, Jahannam, 'Adn, Sakīna, Furqān, Rūh, and scores of others are familiar terms drawn from the religious vocabulary of the contemporary Jewish and Christian communities. It is perfectly clear that Muhammad drew his inspiration not from the old Arab paganism, but from the basic ideas of those great religions which were surrounding the cradle of Islam.

It is also perfectly clear from the Qur'ān itself that Muhammad got his Jewish and Christian material not so much from the Scriptures as from liturgical and uncanonical writings, and received it from oral and not from written sources. That is, the Jewish and Christian material came to Muhammad from that popular store of legend and belief held among the common people and not from official ecclesiastical circles. Much of it was hearsay, much quite misunderstood, and not infrequently there is confused with it legendary material of lay origin which was not Scriptural at all, e.g., the stories of the Seven Sleepers and of Alexander the Great.

The problem of tracing back this oral material to the original sources in written documents is a fascinating one, and one that is by no means yet completely solved. There is material that is obviously Jewish, and material that is as obviously Christian, and much that may have come from either source, while the problem is further complicated by traces of a Gnostic source, for in some of the Gnostic sects there was a curious amalgamation of Judaco-Christian material where it is almost impossible to separate out again the original elements. Material from Zoroastrianism is not so striking or important.

Marraccio pointed out some of these sources as early as 1698 in his *Prodromus* and *Refutatio,* but the first systematic effort to work out source material was in the Essay by Rabbi Abraham Geiger published at Bonn in 1833, *"Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?"* This was a very useful pioneer work, quoting Rabbinic

sources for many Qur'anic passages, but its Rabbinic citations were not always correct nor always apposite, e.g., when he quotes from the *Sepher Hayashar* which is a post-Islamic work, which has undoubtedly been influenced by Muslim writings. An English translation of Geiger's work was published in 1898 under the title "Judaism and Islam," but no attempt was made to check the Rabbinic citations, nor was this done in the second German edition of 1902. Later Jewish scholars such as Hirschfeld, Grünbaum, Horovitz and Schapiro have carried forward these investigations on individual points, Schapiro in particular having given an excellent analysis of the sources used in Sura XII in his monograph *"Die haggadischen Elemente im erzählenden Teil des Korans,"* Berlin, 1907. In 1905 in his little book *"The Original Sources of the Qur'an,"* St. Clair Tisdall attempted a wider survey, discussing other possible sources besides the Judaeo-Christian, and produced an interesting though unfortunately not always reliable monograph. More recently W. Rudolph, Tor Andrae and Karl Ahrens have developed somewhat more in detail the Christian elements in the source material used by Muhammad.

It was time, however, that someone with adequate linguistic preparation undertook a comprehensive survey of this source material. The hope that this was at last being done was raised in our breasts by the preliminary announcements of the present book of M. Sidersky. Indeed, as his title indicates, he had set himself the wider task of going beyond the Qur'ān itself and dealing with the Biblical legends contained in the early Muslim authors, a subject up till now hardly more than touched upon in the preliminary surveys of Lidzbarski's *"De Propheticis legendis arabicis,"* 1893 and Weil's *"Biblische Legende der Musulmänner,"* 1845, and which is a very promising field for investigation. In actual fact, however, our author has confined himself to a very limited range of material and with very few exceptions has dealt only with Rabbinic sources.

With those Rabbinic sources, however, he shows himself thoroughly familiar, and one great service the book renders is that it so often quotes the actual Hebrew or Aramaic text, a boon to students who do not have access to a good Library, and then translates all his quotations into simple French, so that readers who cannot use the original text lose as little as possible of the parallel between the Muslim story and the source thereof.

The author's method is to go through the Bible chronologically from Adam to Jesus, and the Seven Sleepers, and group around each figure as he comes to it in its historical order the Muslim legend and the sources from which the legend is derived. First the Qur'ānic material is given, sometimes in summary, but where it is important, in complete translation. Not all the Qur'ānic material, however, is always given, nor is there any attempt to arrange the material chronologically to show how Muhammad's information grew in precision with the passing years. Then the relevant Rabbinic passages are cited. After that the Muslim legends from later authors concerning the Biblical character under discussion are cited and their Rabbinic sources also indicated. Towards the end of the book a few suggestions for Christian source material for the legends of Mary, Jesus, the Seven Sleepers and Alexander the Great are given.

Such as it is, it is a very useful compilation, carefully printed and indexed, forming a most convenient reference book for the student who is beginning a serious study of the Qur'ān, though the advanced student will find in it little that he did not already know. From the scholarly point of view one wishes that M. Sidersky had attempted the more ambitious task of a complete survey.

In this volume he has confined himself to legends, but there is the more fundamental problem of vocabulary. Over two hundred of the technical religious terms of the Qur'ān are of foreign origin, and a great many religious ideas, even though expressed in pure Arabic words are of non-Arabic origin, so that an extension of the brilliant study of Karl Ahrens *"Christliches im Qoran"* (Z. D. M. G. lxxxiv) is greatly to be desired, and an exhaustive treatise on this subject would probably enable us to decide many doubtful matters of interpretation in the Qur'ān itself. Moreover, in dealing with post-Qur'ānic Muslim legend the author has limited himself for the most part to Al-Kisā'i in Eisenberg's edition and the *Annales* of at-Tabari (and to the Persian Tabari in Zotenberg's translation at that!) neglecting almost entirely the rich stores of material in the Commentators and Traditionists and writers such as ath-Tha'labī and Ibn Iyās, where the material taken from Rabbinic and Syriac writers is abundant, as the recent studies of Prof. Yahuda have made evident.

The work would also have benefited by reference to the Christian ecclesiastical writers, especially the Syriac authors. Large numbers of Jewish legends became domiciled also in the Syriac speaking Church, and the large number of Syriac and Ethiopic loanwords in the Qur'ān at least suggests that the actual source of much of Muhammad's material was a Christian and not a Jewish source. This is true even of Biblical legends, for such forms of proper names as Yūnus (=Syr. *Yūnas* not the Heb. *Yōnah*), Sulaimān (=Syr. *Shelēmūn* not Heb. *Shlōmō*), Fir'aun (=Syr. *Fer'ūn* not Heb. *Par'ō*) and many others, point to Muhammad's source being a Christian one even when the story concerns an Old Testament character.

It is also a little unfortunate that the author has not given a fuller account of the Rabbinic sources that he quotes. The reader who is not a specialist is thus likely to be misled as to what is genuine ancient source material and what is not. We have already mentioned Geiger's use of the *"Sepher Hayashar,"* a work which undoubtedly contains ancient material, but which is itself post-Qur'ānic and so cannot be quoted as evidence unless otherwise supported. In the same manner M. Sidersky quotes from the *"Seder Eliyāhu Zūta,"* which dates from the second half of the Xth century, from the *"Yalqūt Shim'ōnī,"* which is of the XIIIth century, and from the *"Midrash Haggadhōl,"* which, as it quotes from Maimonides, cannot be earlier than the XIIIth century. That these works contain ancient material, even very ancient material, is granted, but they cannot be quoted as sources of Qur'ānic legends without further discussion. Similarly on the section on Mary he quotes a detail from at-Tabarī's story as derived from the *"Armenian Gospel of the Infancy,"* but at-Tabarī died in 923 A.D. and though there was an Armenian Infancy Gospel translated from the Syriac in the VIth century, the

Armenian Gospel which we possess, and from which he quotes, can hardly be earlier than the XIth century.

Some day we must have an exhaustive study of all this source material, but meanwhile we are grateful to M. Sidersky for this handy collection of a goodly amount of Rabbinic material that to many students is not easily accessible. ARTHUR JEFFERY.

Origins of Sacrifice: A Study in Comparative Religion. By E. O. James. John Murray, London. pp. 314; 10/6.

In this volume one of the most distinguished authorities on folk-lore gives a detailed and critical analysis of the origin and history of sacrifice in religion. The standpoint of the author is indicated in his preface: "In the anthropological treatment of a ritual of this character, which has persisted throughout the ages, and undergone a complete metamorphosis in the long course of its complex history, there is a danger of interpreting the final products in terms of crude beginnings, by the simple method of overleaping the intervening series of changes in thought and expression. As Professor Percy Gardner has pointed out, it is all too easy to assume, for example, that the notion of a ceremonial eating of a divine victim persisted from savage orgiastic rites, not only into the more civilized pagan mysteries, but even into early Christianity. A certain school of anthropologists, he says, 'take ancient religion at its lowest, not at its highest levels,' regardless of the fact that 'while magic and materialism no doubt persisted, all the noble spirits warred against them.' " The successive chapters, after an introduction on the Sources, deal with the Blood Offering, Vegetation Ritual, Human Sacrifice, Head-Hunting and Cannibalism, Mystery Cults, Sacrament and Sacrifice in Christianity, Propitiation and Atonement, Priesthood and the Altar, and The Institution of Sacrifice. Although the author deals with the place of sacrifice in Greek and Roman civilization, in Zoroastrianism, Buddhism and Confucianism, there is no reference to sacrifice in Islam, and yet the chief feast of the Moslem calendar is a feast of sacrifice, and every child, according to orthodox Islam, receives its name at the time of the *'Aqiqah* sacrifice on the seventh day after birth. The author believes, with Dr. Westermarck, that the idea of substitution is vital in blood sacrifices. "In this practice of offering life to preserve life may be discerned the beginnings of the idea of substitution and propitiation, which, in many of the higher religions, have taken over a lofty ethical significance."

In speaking of the Christian doctrine of atonement, the author says: "The origin of the Christian conception of atonement must be sought in the interval between the crucifixion and St. Paul's conversion. In the formulation of his theory of mediation the apostle was undoubtedly influenced by the sacrificial ideas in which he had been trained, and by his own spiritual experience. He was conscious of having been 'bought with a price' (I Cor. vi, 20; vii, 23), and for him Jesus was the victorious Messiah who had established a new covenant through His sacrificial death, whereby He satisfied the justice of God and secured the 'acquittal' or 'justification' of a guilty race (Gal. ii, 17; iii, 15ff., iv, 5-7; Rom. iii, 24; viii, 1, 17, 33; I Cor. i, 8; 2 Cor. v, 21). Sin he regarded as a moral disorder, and since God is essentially righteous and just, atonement entailed the vicarious

suffering of one who knew no sin 'set forth by God to be a propitiation through faith in his blood, to show his righteousness' (Rom. iii. 19-26)."

Each chapter is carefully documented, the book has an excellent bibliography, and its conservative attitude toward the Old and the New Testament is refreshing. Z.

Talkhīs Kitāb al-Maqūlāt. By Ibn-Rushd. Ed. Maurice Bouyges, S. J. Catholic Press, Beirūt, Syria, 1932. Bibliotheca Arabica Scholasticorum. Série arabe. Tome IV. pp. xl+184. 40 francs.

Père Bouyges has treated us to another treasure of Arabic lore (see THE MOSLEM WORLD, vol. XXII, 1932, p. 89). Like its predecessor this work, a paraphrase of Aristotle's "Categories," was produced by the world-renowned Ibn-Rushd (Averroës), but it was never edited before. Père Bouyges established his text on the basis of three Arabic MSS., one in Leyden written between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, another in Florence of about the same date, and a third of Cairo written in the eighteenth century. His editorial technique is the same as that used in his *Tahāfut,* with the needs of the Orientalist, rather than the Oriental, constantly in mind. The introduction dealing with the MSS. and the author, the table of chapters, the concordance and the several indices of technical terms, proper names, Greek words, etc., leave nothing to be desired. Al-Bulaydi referred to as "al-Husayni" (p. xxiv) is al-Hasani in a MS. of the Garrett collection at Princeton University (written 1172) and in the title of his work *Itmām* replaces *'Ilm.*

Princeton University PHILIP K. HITTI.

Alexander's Gate, Gog and Magog and the Inclosed Nations. By Andrew Runni Anderson. Cambridge, Mass., 1932. Monographs of the Medieval Academy of America. No. 5. pp. viii+118. $2.40.

Of all religions Islam is the only one that may be said to have raised al-Iskandar dhu-al-Qarnayn into the position of a quasi-prophet. The story of this hero of *sūrah* 18:82 *seq.* has hitherto been generally considered an echo of Jewish traditions in the *Aggadah.* A book just out of press, Sidersky, *"Les origines des légendes musulmanes dans le Coran et dans les vies des prophètes"* (Paris, 1933), reiterates this orthodox view. The book under review, however, produces an original theory, the main element in which is that the legend of Alexander's Gate and the inclusion of Gog and Magog is a reflex of the Greek conception of his empire as the Oikoumenē, or that it is the story of the frontier sublimated. This thesis is very interesting, and in its support the author has produced several arguments, mainly from Graeco-Latin sources. As professor of Latin in Duke University, Mr. Anderson is not expected to know Arabic, as such transliteration as "Dulcarnain" (pp. i, 90, etc.) would clearly indicate. Like its predecessor, published by the Medieval Academy of America, a learned society, and reviewed in THE MOSLEM WORLD XXII (1932), p. 205, this volume has no index. PHILIP K. HITTI

The open Road in Persia. By J. R. Richards. Church Missionary Society. 1933. 68 pp. 1s.

Any one wanting a vivid thumb-nail sketch of new developments in Persia will find it in the first chapter of this book, by a missionary

who evidently keeps both his eyes and his mind open. The renovation of the Persian army has brought about the permanent subjection of the great Kashgai and Pakhtiari tribes, whose shifting nomad life rendered the state unstable; firm civil administration has produced a new sense of unity expressed by a new term *vatanparasti,* meaning patriotism, not before current. In social habits it is represented by the Pahlavi hat (next edition should contain an illustration of it), which prevents the adoption of western dress from obliterating eastern distinctiveness. National currency notes supplant those of foreign banks; town planning is going on; hospitals and dispensaries grow, and the state has taken complete charge of elementary education, as yet leaving foreign colleges to go their way, a farseeing order of procedure. Further on we are reminded how the past is still working in the present, with the camel alongside the motor car. After a long and chequered history, the Christianity of the reformed churches is making its impact on the life of Persia. Congregations are forming; Anglicans in the south and Presbyterians in the north stretch out helping hands to one another and plan for closer union, in which the ancient Armenian community should be included. Nationalism, Shiite Islam and materialism raise many barriers, but Christ's disciples are ready to suffer for Him, and their witness draws others. Men educated at the Stuart Memorial College are among the best Persian citizens, serving a people of great promise, who need Christ for its fulfillment. H. U. W. S.

Mohammed, sein Leben und sein Glaube. By Tor Andrae. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1932. pp. 160. R. M. 8.50.

This biography of Mohammed by the well known Professor in Uppsala marks an important step forward in the field of research with regard to the life of Mohammed. The author does not attach great importance to the establishment of the authenticity of the particular events in the life of the prophet. He considers most of the material gathered by the biographers as legendary. A reliable delimitation of the historical material is at any rate impossible. The author, however, defines his attitude regarding all really momentous problems in the life of Mohammed. He attempts, for instance, a new interpretation of the knotty passage in the Koran, Sura 53:19. As specially important in this investigation, two items deserve to be brought into prominence. First the attempt to explain on psychological foundation the prophetical selfconsciousness of Mohammed, his vocation, his inspirations and utterances, all of which he regarded as revelation. Here the author avails himself of the modern psychology of religion, and rejects all former attempts to prove Mohammed an epileptic or a man somehow mentally diseased. Of special interest are the relations to contemporaneous Christianity. Tor Andrae, moreover, not only thinks of Syrian Christians, but also of all those gnostic, ecstatic oriental movements then evident in the Manichaean and other Christian sects. With the Syrians, for instance, we find the conception of Mohammed, according to which souls after death become submerged in a state of unconsciousness. One is quite surprised to hear how powerful the stream of thought must have been that flowed from the Christian side into earliest Islam. Andrae deems it quite possible that Christian missionary

activity influenced the realization of Mohammed's conception. Why then, one instinctively asks, did Mohammed not become a Christian, if there is no doubt that he was so strongly influenced by Christianity? But by asking this question we have already passed beyond the scope of the book under consideration. The valuation of the prophet by the author keeps within moderate bounds. Mohammed's slips are not passed over in silence, but his manifest statesman-like endowments, his talent to get on with men, even under complicated circumstances, is strongly emphasized. SIMON

Die Geschichte der deutschen Orientmission. By Rudolf Schäfer. Missionshandlung und Verlag Lepsius, Fleischmann & Grauer, Potsdam, Germany. pp. 124. 2.50 M.

We gratefully hail this history of the German mission among the Mohammedans, as it will preserve the remembrance of the man who did so much for the movement underlying the Mohammedan Mission, Dr. Joh. Lepsius. He was an eminent Orientalist, a profound scholar, a theologian, who more than many of his colleagues promoted by his publications the controversy between Christianity and Islam. His chief merit, however is that he unsparingly disclosed before the eyes of the whole world the frightful crimes which Turkey perpetrated against the Armenian people during the persecutions of 1895-96 and 1915. He, who, more than any other person, had an intimate insight into the documents of those frightful occurrences, has appealed to the public of protestant Europe, especially Germany, Holland and Switzerland, to help those unhappy Armenian children, and for this purpose founded the German Orientmission for the propagation of the Gospel amongst the Moslems, and presided over it for many years. The book is especially instructive because of the many reports from Dr. Lepsius on Turkey, and his observations on the Moslem world in the Orient. Many of these reports, as well as his observations of the Islamic world during his travels, afford an excellent insight into the faith, the life and the political movements of those days. For that reason they will have lasting value. SIMON.

Islam-Studien. Von dem Werden der islamischen Welt. Band II. By C. H. Becker. Leipzig, Quelle & Meyer. pp. 550. R.M. 20.-.

While I was reading this book the news reached me of the sudden death of the author, the former state-minister and professor at the university in Berlin, the leader of the German science of Islam, who also took great interest in missions among Mohammedans. German oriental science was expecting from him quite a series of valuable publications, since he was set free from the burden of state-business, after his pen had rested for almost ten years.

His lifework deserves a fuller valuation than can be given within the narrow compass of this review. The book under consideration is the long expected second volume of the series published in 1925. Similar to the first volume, it contains a series of essays previously published. Some of them were not yet published or only accessible to smaller circles. It is very gratifying that these essays, just at the right time, are saved from oblivion. The second volume starts with the discussion of African Islam. With a detailed practical knowledge

the author introduces us into the little-known events when East and West Africa were islamized, and delineates in these 13 essays of the years 1910-1914 the colonial activity of the Arabs, the importance of Islamic advance for missions and colonial policy. There follow the oriental problems of to-day. In these lectures Pan-Islamism, the Holy War and quite a series of Turkish problems are discussed, for instance, the Turkish national policies and the Turkish problem of education. The section ends with an essay about Turkey after the great war, hitherto unpublished. Of course not a few of these papers are out of date to-day and antiquated. Much instructive material is thought out and many an analysis—for instance of the importance of the caliphate, of the conflict between Pan-Islamism and the national thought in Turkey, of the invasion of western culture—is still current in our days. This specially applies to the last essay. One may differ in many points with the author. For instance, I do not believe that we are permitted to take Kemal Pasha as an instrument of Russian politics. But Becker is quite right when he reminds us that the transformation of the medieval government of Turkey into a modern national state is quite a remarkable achievement of statesmanship. That religious liberty in Turkey in reality is only on paper, the author of course knows perfectly well, though he does not express it. The conclusion of the book forms a series of ten excellent biographical sketches of well-known Islamic scholars. I mention only Martin Hartmann, Goldziher and Nöldeke. The presentation is extraordinarily fascinating, especially as the author has been in personal touch with all these scholars. Finally we have a complete classification of all the works of the learned author, respecting Islamic knowledge. This valuable book can be recommended to all who are interested in the study of Islam. SIMON

Extracts from the Koran. By Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah. Blackie & Son Ltd., London, 1933. pp. 90. 5s. net.

There is no lack of translations of the Koran in English, and there have been also a number of extracts published. The present selection includes a preface, extensive notes, and eight photographic plates. The translation from which the selections are made is that of Mohammed Ali, which was critically reviewed in our Quarterly. In the Preface and in the notes we find some extraordinary statements which scarcely need refutation; for example, we are told: "The order in which the verses were to stand was arranged by the Prophet Mohammed himself, so that at the time of his demise the entire Koran was in complete written form. At that date its contents were widely known, and thousands of people had either read or heard it read so frequently, that they could recite it word for word without the slightest error. . . . . The Koran is also a book of good manners and an authority on the humanities." All the fighting carried on in early Islam was defensive! "Fighting for the propagation of faith is not even once mentioned in the whole of the Koran, and is entirely the product of the inventive brains of the enemies of Islam."

Most extraordinary of all is the statement that "the permission to have more than one wife was given under the peculiar circum-

stances of the Moslem society then existing, and the Prophet's action in marrying widows, as well as the example of many of his companions, corroborates this statement." Although the author says that Mohammed raised his people from the worship of stones and tribal fetishism, he nevertheless states that the famous Black Stone was never an idol and only a symbol. He applies to it the words of Psalm 118:22 and Daniel 2:45. These Messianic passages therefore refer to the Ka'aba and its Palladium! Z.

Kemalist Turkey and the Middle East. By K. Krüger. London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1932. 7/6 net.

Dr. Krüger, who is a professor at the Berlin-Charlottenburg College of Technology, surveys in his first six chapters the political, economic, and social progress of Kemalist Turkey, making effective use of the available statistical data. Occasional excursions into recent history serve as useful introductions to a clear and quite optimistic discussion of the reforms instituted by Mustafa Kemal Pasha as president of the Turkish Republic. But when the author ventures into the field of international relations in the Middle East and Turkey's part therein, the usefulness of his work diminishes with great rapidity. Mistakes of fact are too numerous to be listed here. Perhaps the most glaring example is his assertion that the French "have been instrumental in introducing Christianity" to Syria! His presentation of the interests and policies of Turkey and her neighbors, both European and Oriental, is never to be trusted, while his frequent prognostications are usually fantastic. It is to be regretted that Dr. Krüger did not restrict himself to purely Turkish affairs, about which he writes competently, though neither brilliantly nor authoritatively.

Princeton University. WALTER L. WRIGHT, JR.

Evolution and Religion—A Study of the Bearing of Evolution upon the Philosophy of Religion. By John A. O'Brien. The Century Company, New York and London, 1932. pp. xxi+247. $2.50.

The author, who is a Roman Catholic, accepts the hypothesis of evolution, and sees no conflict between religion and science. He maintains that evolution does not dispense with God, but rather shows a plan and purpose in the operation of Nature, and destroys a low anthropomorphic notion of God's mode of working. He quotes St. Augustine, who maintained that it was folly to attempt to refute non-believers on questions of physical science by quoting from the Scriptures. On page 57 he says: "Religion welcomes eagerly every new discovery of natural science, knowing in advance that it will serve to disclose more clearly a segment of the objectified thought of God." The author's point of view is clearly expressed on page 83: *"The Bible teaches religious verities, but is in no sense a text-book of physical science."*

Princeton , N. J. HENRY S. GEHMAN.

La Femme Kabyle. By René Vigier. Les Editions Véga, 43 Rue Madame, Paris, France, 1932. pp. 195.

The author of this study on the rights of the Kabyle women in law was formerly a French administrator and an advocate in the

Court of Appeals at Algiers. The two maps of the tribes and the villages in La Grande Kabyle indicate the scope of this study. After a historic introduction, he tells of the influence of the French occupation on life in Kabylia, of the Commission appointed in 1925, and of the Decree passed by the Government, May 19, 1931, in regard to the rights of women in succession and inheritance. The book contains a full bibliography, and in the introduction we have an interesting picture of the Kabyle tribes and their family life. The Kabyle woman is described as follows: "La Kabyle a de nombreuses qualités naturelles: elle est travailleuse, serviable et dévouée, avec un fond de gaîeté et d'endurance qui résiste aux plus dures épreuves. Elle est intelligente : son esprit est pratique surtout. Si en un mari brutal, violent et grossier elle subit souvent un maître redouté, elle trouve dans l'union conjugale généralement l'occasion d'avoir des biens, des droits individuels, droits personnels qui lui appartiennent exclusivement et qu'elle conserve précieusement." Z.

The Moslem Pilgrimage. By S. Spiro Bey. Whitehead Morris, Alexandria, Egypt, 1932. pp. 70.

This little volume is correctly described in the sub-title: "An authentic account of the journey from Egypt to the Holy Land of Islam, and a detailed description of Mecca and Medina and all the religious ceremonies performed there by the pilgrims from all parts of the Mohammedan world." It is however, a description of Mecca before the War, and great changes have taken place. The illustrations which are appended to the text are numerous and excellent. It is ungracious, perhaps, to call attention to a number of mistakes. The articles of religious practice in Islam are five, not four. There is no tomb of Abraham at Mecca (p. 43); more than a score of Europeans have visited Mecca in disguise, not four as stated. Altogether, however, this is an interesting guide. Z.

The Conversion of a Moslem. By E. A. Hopkins. Christian Book Room, 3 Quinsan Gardens, Shanghai, China. pp. 57.

The stirring biography of a Moslem lad born in Burma, turned out of his home and persecuted for accepting Christ, his later experiences in making a living and in the army during the World War. He finally came back, finding his father dead, but winning his mother for Christ. Afterwards he married a Chinese woman, and both were taught the way of the Lord more perfectly. Suitable for translation, if condensed. Z.

Les Symptômes de la Crise Turque et son Remède. By Hachim Nahid. Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, Paris, 1931. pp. 88.

Interest in this small volume lies in the fact that it is a sharp criticism of the present political policy in Turkey. The author takes up one by one the several governmental departments and shows their defects. The last chapter undertakes to give a solution. The author's treatment of his subject is very sketchy. While informing and suggestive for one who is unacquainted with Turkey, the facts presented possess neither that comprehensive nor that authoritative quality which would permit one to make use of them with assurance.

The author's chief complaint is the suppression of freedom of thought, speech and action in Turkey today and his chief interest seems to lie in the economic development of Turkey. Indeed his philosophy of life centers here : economic development determines the possibility and the form of art, religion, music, social life and standards of morality. "Guided by his practical reason, man has subjected to a merciless criticism religion and all things belonging to the social order which borrow their influence and authority from some distant tradition or from some spring of human feeling; his experimental spirit rejects them and gives consideration to his material well-being only. For him, even moral well-being is envisaged under material forms. His economic and material life determines for him his way of thinking, his belief, his morality, his art, which take on forms that differ from those of the past." W.

Rethinking Missions (Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry). Harper and Brothers, New York, 1932. pp. xv+349. $2.

It has become difficult to judge the Laymen's Inquiry on its own merits, for the flood of literature which it has called forth and the many discussions about it in which one has participated, must of necessity color one's judgment. This difficulty is, however, considerably minimized by the fact that the opinions expressed about its value are so widely divergent that in the end one is still left to one's own choice rather than any one else's evaluation. If for instance Pearl Buck speaks of "a unique and great book . . . . right in its every conclusion," and if Kagawa speaks of his disappointment because this report presents "missions without the Cross," because "it lacks a militant spirit" and because it "is shot through with liberalism," economic as well as theological—we must surely make up our own mind as to which of these authorities is right.

It is interesting to note that almost everyone has judged the report by the first eighty pages which discuss the "General Principles." This is a healthy sign, for it means that there is a general awareness that the root of all difficulties in the missionary world is not in the realm of organisation and methods but in the realm of the presuppositions on which missions are based and of the message which they proclaim. Even such seemingly organisational problems as Mission-support and the recruiting of new missionaries depend finally for their solution on purely spiritual realities. However important and useful the practical suggestions in the second and third part of the report may be, the real, urgent, and even the most "practical" question is the one treated in the first part, namely: "What do Missions exist for?" I will therefore confine my remarks practically altogether to this important section.

The most astonishing characteristic of this report is the naiveté of its authors regarding the real significance of their work. It would seem from their own affirmations that they are intent on producing a missionary philosophy which will be valid for the whole wide world and at least for America and Asia. But there is no evidence of any kind that they have asked themselves whether the philosophy which they produce may not after all be a very peculiar product of a rather arbitrary group of geographically and historically conditioned individuals. Kagawa has given the diagnosis that the laymen's report is

a typical product of liberalism, and it would be hard to contradict him. For it is typical of liberalism to declare itself as universal truth and to neglect its own historical and geographical limitations. The result is, of course, a fundamental contradiction in the report itself. On the one hand the commission exalts the sharing between East and West; on the other hand it proposes to transform all missions into an institution for the propaganda of certain late 19th-century ideas of liberal Christian humanitarianism of the American variety. While in 1928 at Jerusalem, the missionary world demonstrated its conviction that whenever fundamental questions of message were at stake, Eastern and Western Christians should meet together, in 1932 it is still taken for granted that the pronouncements of a group of Christians in one Western country about the message to be delivered in Asia are more important than the convictions of men like Kagawa, Koo, Datta and many other Oriental Christians about this subject. This is a step backward rather than forward.

A similar naiveté comes out in the attitude of the report toward "theology." While it is repeatedly asserted that theological doctrine is a danger rather than a help to missions, the question is not raised whether the whole first section of the report should not be classified as doctrine of a very definite character. Here again good old liberalism is in evidence. Instead of openly saying that there are different theologies and that the commission rejects one or more of them in order to support another one, it evades the issue by contrasting theology with "the simple teachings of Christianity." It does not, however, take much knowledge of the history of thought to discover how curiously these simple teachings become mixed up in these pages with what the commission calls "the artifacts of our Western brains."

It is, of course, impossible to analyse the theology of the report in this short review. (Readers who are interested should specially read John Mackay's article in the *International Review of Missions*). There is, however, one subject which may serve as illustration, namely the commission's conception and use of the term "religion."

The difficulty of getting to grips with the report on this point is due to the fact that the authors have nowhere given a clear definition of what they mean by "religion." While the most fundamental proposals which are being made are precisely in this realm, it would seem that the commission has taken it for granted that there is a generally accepted conception of what religion is and what it is not, on which they can base their argument. But does such a generally accepted motion exist? Is it so certain that Confucianism is a religion and that communism is not? It there something sufficiently definite to fight for which Hinduism, Confucianism, Mohammedanism, Buddhism and Christianity have in common as over against secularism, communism or materialism? Is it so certain that from the point of view of the Kingdom of God the average priest of the Eastern religions is less of an outsider and more of an insider than the average secularised university professor? The uncertainty in which the authors leave us in this matter reveals that they have not thought through the consequences of their own position. If they say that Christianity should "associate itself with whatever kindred elements there are in other religions" and that the ultimate goal is "unity in the completest religious truth," they

ought also to make clear why this process of "sharing" should be limited to the realm of what is conventionally called "religion," and why it should not become a sharing of everything under the sun. This would mean "spineless missions."

It is a great pity that the authors have not thought through this issue, for if they had done so they would have discovered that all tolerance has its limits, they would have had to put their cards on the table and say openly at what point and why they draw the clear line between truth and error. As it is, we have a conception of religion born in the class-room of professors of comparative religions who would synthesize all religious phenomena and accordingly create a purely artificial idea of a religion "in which all men agree." And we are not helped one bit in the real question, which is whether in actual life there is such a thing as "religion," or whether there are only positive *religions,* all of them by their very nature bound to be absolutist and therefore in principle exclusive, all of them therefore in the tragic situation that they dare not and cannot compromise unless they would give up their very essence. The more practical proposals about the right attitude to other religions, which are in many ways admirable in their insistence on taking other religions seriously and on a decent and friendly human relationship to them would have had more significance if they were not mixed up with this confused thought about "religion" itself. It is possible to be a witness of Jesus Christ, as the unique revelation of God and as the one way, the life and the truth, without being unintelligent, impolite or unsympathetic in one's attitude to other faiths.

That the report is professorial rather than truly realistic becomes even more clear in its lack of understanding of the true forces of the modern world. One should compare Kagawa's vision of the nature of the gigantic struggle of Christianity with such pagan forces as communism and nationalism, Datta's picture of the impending social revolutions in *Asiatic Asia,* Paul Schütz's call to repentance for the whole missionary world or the articles about the explosive possibilities in the student situation of China and Japan in the "Far Eastern" number of *The Student World,* with the tame statements in this report about communism and nationalism, about the relations of Christianity to the State or about social conditions in general. Are missions such as proposed by this report going to stand the coming "Storm over Asia?" To ask the question is to answer it. Missions will be well-advised if they listen to Kagawa rather than to the laymen, and look upon their task as one of "cross-revolution" rather than of "sharing of religious values."

Geneva, Switzerland W. A. Visser 'tHooft.

Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia. By Michele Amari. Seconda edizione modificata e accresciuta dall' autore. Pubblicata con note a cura di Carlo Alfonso Nallino. Vol. I, Puntata 3. Catania, Romeo Prampolini, 1933. Lire 110 (for the entire first volume).

This is the third and last fascicule of the first volume of this new edition of Amari's masterly work on the history of Moslem rule in Sicily, and brings the story down to 902 A. D. The two earlier fascicules have already been noticed in this Journal.

W. L. Wright, Jr.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

By Sue Molleson Foster
Missionary Research Library, New York

I. GENERAL

A History of Johore (1365-1895 A.D.) R. O. Winstedt. (In *The Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,* Singapore. December, 1932. whole number.)

Describes the relations of Malays, Portuguese, Dutch and English, as well as the Achinese of Sumatra and the Bugis of Celebes, in their contentions for the trade of India and China; and sketches the lives of the chief native rulers.

The Late Al-Haj Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din. (In *The Islamic Review,* Woking. April-May, 1933. whole number.)

Memorial issue in honor of the founder of the Woking Muslim Mission, who died December 28, 1932.

Secrets from Syrian Hills. Claude F. A. Schaeffer. (In *The National Geographic Magazine,* Washington, D. C. July, 1933. pp. 96-126.)

Tells of archaeological excavations at Ras Shamra, where the long-sought-for city, Ugarit, celebrated Syrio-Egyptian port of the time of Rameses II, was uncovered and a valuable cuneiform library found.

Studies in Contemporary Arabic Literature. IV. The Egyptian Novel. H. A. R. Gibb. (In *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies,* London. vol. 7, no. 1. pp. 1-22.)

Difficulty has been experienced in breaking away from the classical Arabic tradition, but in "Zaynab" by Dr. Husayn Haykal and in al-Māzinī's "Ibrāhīm al-Katib" an advance is made, although the influence of the Western novel is felt.

II. ARABIA

Notes sur la Vie Sociale et Politique de l'Arabie du Nord. Robert Montagne. (In *Revue des Études Islamiques,* Paris. Cahier I, 1932. pp. 61-79.)

Account of the Semmār du Neǧd, most important of the Northern Arabian tribes, describing their numerous subdivisions, their social system and the town of Hayel, their center.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

ISLAM IN QUEST OF UNITY. Robert L. Baker. (In *Current History,* New York. July, 1933. pp. 418-423.)

Lord Cromer's dictum that "Islam is moribund," though uttered twenty-five years ago, is being fulfilled today through the spread of nationalism and the consequent indifference to Pan-Islam and its problems.

LES MUSULMANS DE POLOGNE, ROUMANIE ET BULGARIE. André Bonamy. (In *Revue des Études Islamiques,* Paris. Cahier I, 1932. pp. 82-90.)

Brief account of the religious and legal situation, accompanied by statistics.

LES OEUVRES FRANCISCAINES DE MEKNÈS AU 18e SIÈCLE. Henry Koehler, O.F.M. (In *En Terre d'Islam,* Alger. Mars-Avril, 1933. pp. 91-107.)

A chapter taken from the author's "L'Église Chrétienne du Maroc et la Mission Franciscaine" describing the Mission's work among European captives as well as with the Moors themselves, and discussing the delicate question of renegades.

IV. KORAN. TRADITIONS. THEOLOGY.

LE RÉFORMISME ORTHODOXE DES "SALAFIYA" ET LES CARACTÈRES GÉNÉRAUX DE SON ORIENTATION ACTUELLE. Henri Laoust. (In *Revue des Études Islamiques,* Paris. Cahier II, 1932. pp. 175-224.)

Describes a movement begun at Paris in 1883 which upholds orthodox Sunnite Islam and still has influence at Cairo, where it attracts the present generation with its "Société des Jeunes Musulmans," its nationalistic attitude, and *al-Manar,* its chief publication.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

LE DÉVELOPPEMENT DE L'EDUCATION NATIONALE EN IRÂQ. 'Ajjan al Hadîd. (In *Revue des Études Islamiques,* Paris. Cahier II, 1932. pp. 231-267.)

Gives survey of existing educational opportunities and discusses critically the Report of the Educational Enquiry Commission, edited by Dr. Paul Monroe.

EGYPT TO-DAY, by a Student of Egyptian Affairs. (In *World Dominion,* London. July, 1933. pp. 297-304.)

Review of social and religious conditions, with special reference to the difficulties of the Coptic Christians.

LES INSTITUTIONS KABYLES. Louis Milliot. (In *Revue des Études Islamiques,* Paris. Cahier II, 1932. pp. 127-174.)

This branch of the Berber race has a code of behavior based on pre-Moslem and Moslem usage with an admixture of French ideas, designed to aid the people in their economic struggle.

Le Kharidjisme Ibâdite Algérien. Jacques Pignal, S. J. (In *En Terre d'Islam,* Alger. Mai-Juin, 1933. pp. 203-212.)

First installment of an article on the Mzabites.

Réorganisation de l'Enseignement de la Grande Mosquée de Tunis. (In *L'Afrique Française,* Paris. Juin, 1933. pp. 329-334.)

Discusses a decree of 1933 governing the administration of the Mosque and of its school as to the professors, the students, the course of study, etc.

The Status of Women in Islam. Maulvi Aftab-ud-Din Ahmad. (In *The Islamic Review,* Woking. June, 1933. pp. 189-192.)

Continuation of an article begun in the January-February, 1933, issue.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS.

Afrique du Nord et Proche-Orient. Louis Ermont. (In *L'Afrique Française,* Paris. Avril, 1933. pp. 197-205.)

Continues a previous article on the influences of other Moslem countries, especially Syria, on North Africa, and finds the Pan-Arab doctrine having a real appeal.

Le Caire et sa Fonction dans l'Islam Arabe Contemporain. Henri Laoust. (In *L'Afrique Française,* Paris. Juin, 1933. pp. 318-321.)

Due to the wisdom of King Fuad and the liberalism of the English, Egypt is furthest advanced politically and socially of all the countries of the Near East; and can, therefore, influence other Moslem centers by its Pan-Islamic trends.

Contribution à l'Étude du Problème Hindou-Musulman. Rahmat 'Ali. (In *Revue des Études Islamiques,* Paris. Cahier II, 1932. pp. 269-414.)

Thoughtful study by a Punjabi Marxist of the weight of wealth and poverty on the relations between Moslems and Hindus, and on conditions in India in general. Bibliography appended.

Le Service des Habous et les Nouvelles Mosquées. Gabriel Payre. (In *L'Afrique Française,* Paris. Avril, 1933. Renseignements Coloniaux. pp. 81-83.)

The French are increasing their prestige in Morocco by systematically aiding Les Fondations Pieuses du Maroc in the work of restoring old mosques, building new ones and upholding the personnel necessary for the culte.

VII. MISSIONS TO MOHAMMEDANS

Annual Report of the Arabian Mission. 1932. (In *Neglected Arabia,* New York. January-June, 1933. pp. 4-15.)

Presents the work of the Mission under three heads—Evangelistic, Educational, Medical—and gives encouraging statistics.

ARGUMENTS BY MOORISH MOSLEMS. James Haldane. (In *The Missionary Review of the World,* New York. June, 1933. pp. 287-289.)

Stresses the lack of moral and spiritual standards in Mohammedanism and the need for a vigorous proclaiming of Christianity in North Africa.

CHANGING MEDICAL WORK IN PERSIA. R. E. Hoffman. (In *The International Review of Missions,* London. July, 1933. pp. 361-366.)

The decline of fanaticism in Persia has opened wide the way for the medical missionary and also for the spread of government-operated health organizations,—notably the Red Lion and Sun Society, equivalent to the Red Cross.

CHARACTER BUILDING IN THE NEW REPUBLIC. William Allen Harper. (In *The Missionary Herald,* Boston. May, 1933. pp. 139-141.)

The American Board is meeting the challenge in Turkey and is proving that Christ-like living is the most effective means for spreading Christian education.

IN THE GARDEN OF ALLAH. Dugald Campbell. (In *The Missionary Review of the World,* New York. June, 1933. pp. 315-318.)

Pleads for missionaries to go among the Tuaregs and stresses the need for study of the Berber languages.

UNE MISSIOLOGIE DE L'ISLAM INDIEN. Victor Courtois. (In *En Terre d'Islam,* Alger. Mai-Juin, 1933. pp. 226-232.)

Summarizes the Wahaby, Aligarh and Ahmadiyah movements and pleads for Roman Catholic missionaries in a field now largely under Protestant influence.

THE NUBA MOUNTAINS: a Call to Advance. Rev. W. Wilson Cash. (In *The Mission Hospital,* London. July, 1933. pp. 154-157.)

Plans for C.M.S. schools and medical centers among the pagan Nubas to save them from Islam or the dangers of secularization.

OLD HAUNTS REVISITED. D. W. Carr. (In *The Mission Hospital,* London. April, 1933. pp. 79-83; June, 1933. pp. 129-133.)

Pictures the amazing progress of Western ways in Persia during the last five years.

SOCIAL WORK IN THE NEAR EAST. S. A. Morrison. (In *The International Review of Missions,* London, July, 1933. pp. 400-414.)

Presents the findings of a study of methods for promoting a closer relationship between Christians and Moslems; undertaken at the request of the chairman of the Evangelistic Committee of the Near East Christian Council.